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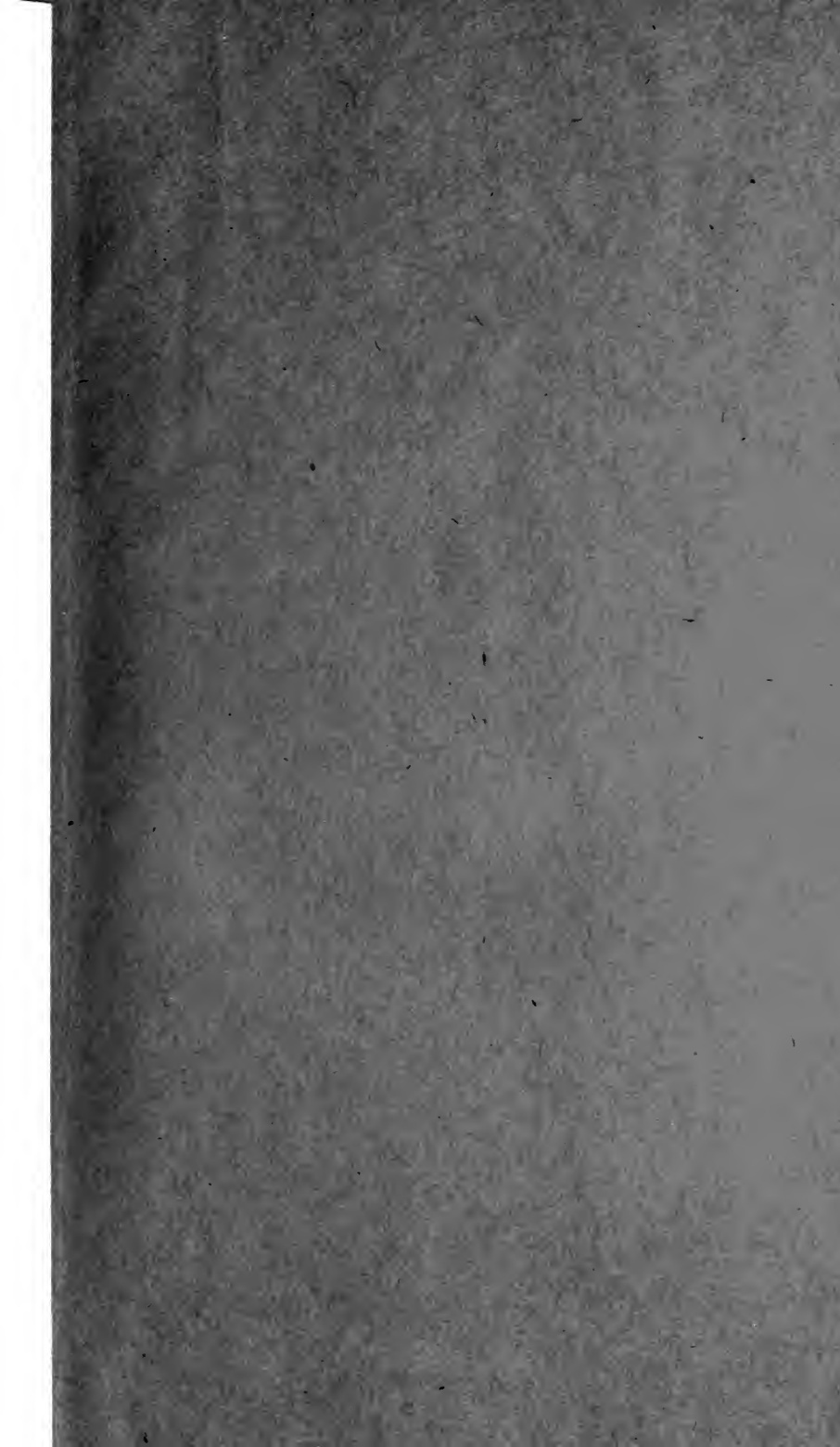
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THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

AN EXAMINATION
OF THE FEDERALIZATION MOVEMENT
IN THE LIGHT OF THE EDUCATIONAL DEMANDS
OF A DEMOCRACY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope of Dissertation	1
Problems of American Education	2
The Reconstruction Tendency in Education	3

CHAPTER II

THE CENTRALIZATION MOVEMENT—AN HISTORICAL SURVEY FROM REVOLUTIONARY TIMES TO THE PASSING OF THE SMITH-HUGHES ACT

The American Fathers and Education	5
Demand for a National Bureau of Education	7
Agricultural Education—The Land Grant Colleges	9
Vocational Education under the Smith-Hughes Act	11

CHAPTER III

THE CENTRALIZATION MOVEMENT AT PRESENT—PENDING LEGISLATION

Number of Bills in the 66th Congress	17
Status of Bills in the 67th Congress	17
The Kenyon Bill for Americanization	18
The Fish Bill for Americanization	23
The Fess Bill for a National University	23
The Fletcher Bill for a National Conservatory of Music	25
The Tillman Bill for Mountain Schools	26
The Raker Bill for a National School of Correspondence	27
The Raker Bill for Library Information Service	28
The Capper Bill for Physical Education	28
The Owen Bill for a Department of Education	31
The Husted Resolution for the Investigation of Public Education..	32
The Kenyon Bill for a Department of Public Welfare	33

CHAPTER IV

PENDING LEGISLATION—THE STERLING TOWNER BILL, S. 1252, H. R. 7

Character and Inspiration of the Sterling-Towner Bill	35
Provisions of the Bill	38
Revisions Arising from Adverse Criticism	40
Arguments in Support of the Bill	42
Arguments Against the Bill	48

CHAPTER V

THE RELATION OF THE FEDERALIZATION MOVEMENT TO DEMOCRACY

The Federalization Tendency—Its Philosophy	56
The Nature of Democracy	58
Educational Demands of Democracy.....	61
Federal Control and Democracy	65
Conclusion	72
Bibliography	76
Vita	80

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The era in which society now finds itself is conspicuously one of stress. Out of the vortex of a world-wide war which threatened to undermine the very structure of society and to render desolate and void the accumulated treasures of the race, there has developed in the minds of men a critical attitude, a spirit of challenge, and of keen penetrating inquiry into the foundations of the existing social economy. No institution has escaped the test; the school, the church, the state, the home,—all have been placed on trial, and all are being weighed in the balance of public opinion. Out of the babel of confusion that exists on all sides, discrepant voices are heard. On one side it is the voice of the conservative, firm in the conviction that the present order is inherently sound, and that its ills can be assuaged by the wise and benevolent administration of constructive reform. On the other side lifts the voice of the extreme reformer feverishly proclaiming the doctrine of radical change and insistently defending the thesis that revolution, not evolution, is the sesame to a more benign and equitable order.

Society, then, is in flux. It is becoming extremely self-conscious and critical. Novel interpretations of life and its meaning, new evaluations of society and its institutions are being offered in abundance. That modern society has accomplished marvels in the harnessing of the forces of nature and the building of an imposing material civilization, there is none to gainsay. That it has secured like triumphs in the domain of the spirit, there are few to admit. Shibboleths are the fashion of the hour. Democracy is a word to be conjured with. Americanization is being misunderstood and exploited; in many quarters it assumes a sinister guise and is regarded with suspicion. Education is hailed as a panacea; legislation receives a disproportionate valuation, and progress is not uncommonly identified with change.

The problems of the hour are at once manifold and complex. Their relations are well-nigh limitless, their difficulties well-nigh inexhaustible. However much therefore the many current issues may appeal to intelligent leadership or absorb the mind of the general student, it shall be the aim of this dissertation to limit the field of observation and to focus attention on the school in its relation to the federal government, *and to trace first of all the evolution of national interest in education;*

secondly, to examine the present trend in Federal educational legislation; and finally, in a review of the educational demands of a democracy, to see how far national control and direction operate to the welfare of the American school.

It is a truism that every society tends to perpetuate itself; likewise that every cultivated society sees in education the chief means of its perpetuation and an indispensable mechanism of social control. Under democratic forms this truth conveys a special meaning. Democracy has an abiding faith in education. Its very existence depends upon a wide diffusion of knowledge among its members. Its mainstay is a moral, social, and educated electorate. Where ignorance thrives, free institutions must inevitably fail. Autocracy thrives where minds are held in bondage.

The great ideal of democracy is harmony both in the internal and external relations of the group. It assumes that human nature is not fundamentally vicious; it rests its faith on the internal forces of the individual and on his capacity for enlightened moral co-operation. It finds its chief support not in the strong arm of government or the watchful eye of surveillance, but in the self-reliance of the individual, and in his fund of spiritual and moral loyalties. Its call is the call to service and self-surrender; due subordination and devotion to the common good are its perennial requisites.

The test of the school then will lie in its contribution to democracy. That the test is acid, and that the challenge to the American school is earnest and fundamental, are apparent upon the most cursory review of educational literature. With President Butler all educators are agreed that "the difficulties of democracy are the opportunities of education."¹ Have our schools measured up to their opportunities? Are they laggard in their service to democracy? Thus the crucial test is being fearlessly administered.

On all sides the lessons of the war are being formulated. Almost daily comes new report of the dangers of democracy that lurk within our doors. The extent of our national illiteracy startles us; the results of the draft prove a revelation, and a national emergency in education is said to exist.

"There are in the United States nearly 6,000,000 persons over 10 years of age unable to read or write (700,000 of them young men who were liable to recent draft laws). Fifty-eight per cent of these illiterates are white persons; 28 per cent are native-born whites, and 30 per cent are foreign-born whites; 40 per cent of the rest are negroes.

¹ Butler, Nicholas Murray, *The Meaning of Education*, New York, 1898, p. 120.

"To educate all of its people without exception is both the duty and the right of democracy. If these people have been deprived of educational opportunities in their youth, it is the duty of the Nation to extend this blessing to them now in their years of majority; if these people have neglected their earlier opportunities, democracy has the right to demand that they correct the deficiency with public assistance at once."²

In the words of Franklin K. Lane, late Secretary of the Interior, an "uninformed democracy is not a democracy."³ Without a wide diffusion of knowledge, progressive democracy, social cohesion, community of ideals and sentiments are equally unthinkable. Without a mentally alert plebiscite, the demagogue supplants the leader and odious political forms from autocracy to mobocracy are quick to seize dominion.

The situation is obvious, and the investigation reveals the many ills that endanger the body social. Out of the many nostrums that have been prescribed, society must make a choice. That social health may ensue, the group must employ the trained physician. The social diagnosis complete, the remedy must be appropriate. Neither the wholesomeness of the group nor the weal of its individual members should be impaired in the treatment.

To insure the stability of our institutions, the conviction is widespread that educational reform is imperative, and that the Federal Government must take a prominent part in the reconstruction movement. The fact is emphasized that the individual is not simply a citizen of his community or State, but of the nation as well.⁴ From this it is concluded that the nation should assume a more generous share of the burden involved in the education of its citizens. That this conviction is taking a firm hold on our national leaders is plainly indicated in current legislative procedure. During the Sixty-sixth Congress there were pending at least ninety-four bills and joint resolutions bearing in some manner on education,⁵ and the belief exists that "relatively few persons outside of Congress are aware either of the multiplicity of the legislative proposals, or of the manifest consequences which some of them would entail if enacted into law."⁶ Doubtless a similar number of proposals will be introduced in the course of the present (Sixty-seventh) Congress.

² *A Manual of Educational Legislation*, United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1919, No. 4, p. 5.

³ *Annual Report*, Department of the Interior, Washington, 1918, Vol. I, p.30.

⁴ Claxton, P. P., *Addresses and Proceedings*, N. E. A., 1919, Vol. LVII, P. 87.

⁵ *The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 1, p.4, and Vol. 1, No. 2, p.41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 4.

New Federal educational legislation is imminent, and the reflective mind is bound to ask: To what extent may legislation and social regimentation be said to be conducive to the best interests of democracy? Are the problems of democracy to be solved by placing our reliance on external compulsions and attractive short-cut processes fostered by the subsidy or directed by the controlling hand of the nation? Do we really know what democracy means, and if so, is our faith in it vital and abiding and not a sham? Are we, as one writer says, in danger of preserving the externals and killing the essentials of democracy?⁷

American public education is at the crossroads and its future course must be determined. In this, as in all matters effecting public policy, it is well to look before and after. A society such as ours, restless, dynamic, stripling, and impulsive, may well take pause on the stream of change lest peril overtake it. The doctrine that the inevitable tendency in the evolution of political and social forms is toward an ever increasing degree of centralization finds ample expression in current sociological and educational literature; indeed, it is borne out most clearly in the facts of modern industrial life. It cannot be maintained, however, that in this centripetal drift society is at the mercy of blind and fatalistic forces. Society can and must ponder over the problems of democracy; it must summon up its collective wisdom for the solution of its difficulties. The problems are not easy; their solution demands the best that is in us. They deserve the common counsel of our united leadership and the intelligent interest of our citizenry. Social salvation shall be the reward of both faith and works.

⁷ Cope, Henry Frederick, *Education for Democracy*, New York, 1920, p. 272.

CHAPTER II

THE CENTRALIZATION MOVEMENT—AN HISTORICAL SURVEY FROM REVOLUTIONARY TIMES TO THE PASSING OF THE SMITH-HUGHES ACT

The present tendency of educational administration and control in the United States is the result of a gradual evolution of an educational ideal, and to be intelligible, it must be seen in the full perspective of its historic background. It will therefore be the purpose of this chapter to survey briefly the development of Federal interest in education from Revolutionary times to the present.

As is well-known, the Congress legislates concerning military and naval training, controls education in the District of Columbia, Alaska, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii. Again, Congress appropriates funds in favor of Howard University (for negroes), and has developed an effective program for the education of the American Indian. The limitations of this dissertation, however, permit consideration only of the larger educational interests of the Government, and of the facts and tendencies which are of vital import to the Nation as a whole; hence, further reference to the above mentioned policies will be omitted.

The American Fathers and Education

It is insisted by Cubberley that the American Fathers were indifferent to public education: "Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century was education regarded at all as a legitimate public function. At the time of the formation of the Federal Constitution, education was not considered of sufficient importance to receive mention in the document; and so far as there is any recorded mention of the subject in the debates of the constitutional convention, it refers to a national university and not to public education. The reasons for this are easy to see. Education was then a luxury and not a necessity."⁸ Similarly, Horace Mann was of the conviction that the subject of popular education was not mentioned in the convention and that the constitutions of only *three* of the thirteen original States made the obligation to maintain a system of free public schools a part of their fundamental law.⁹

Whatever truth there may be in the statements of Cubberley and Mann, it cannot be held that the Fathers were wholly unalive to the importance of education. The North-

⁸ Cubberley, Ellwood P., *Changing Conceptions of Education*, Boston, 1909, p. 29.

⁹ Mann, Horace, *Lectures on Education*, Boston, 1855, p. 238.

west Ordinance of May 20, 1785, devised to dispose of land in the western territory, provided that "there shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." This embodies the first definite Government enactment concerning grants of land for educational purposes.¹⁰ Moreover, in Article III of the Ordinance of 1787, there appears the familiar quotation: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Again, Washington in his message to Congress in 1790 declared: "Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately as in ours from the sense of the community, it is proportionally essential." According to one of his contemporaries, the Reverend Samuel Knox, President of Frederick Academy, Maryland, and devotee of education, there was no trait in Washington's character that has afforded a more convincing proof of his pure regard for civil liberty "than his patronage and liberal encouragement of public education."¹¹ His plea for a national university is too well-known to require comment. Most likely, Washington's interest lay mainly in secondary and higher institutions of learning. The traditions of his native State, Virginia, were aristocratic, and elementary education received little attention.¹² Further interest of the Fathers in education is gathered from Draper who tells us that while the Constitution "is silent upon the subject of first public concern," the Fathers "were neither indifferent nor uninformed about it."¹³ Education was regarded as the concern of the local communities. Accordingly, it has continued to be the accepted view that "the United States is powerless to *control* and does not assume to *manage* the educational institutions of the people; the States have full power to do so."¹⁴

Like Washington, both Jefferson and Madison recognized that the national welfare depended upon the general diffusion of knowledge. While many statesmen of the time felt that interference of the several States in education was justified, the vision of a State controlled system was not a clear one, and moreover was decidedly unwelcome to the popular

¹⁰ Germann, George B., *National Legislation Concerning Education*, New York, 1899, p. 17.

¹¹ Knox, Samuel, *An Essay on the Best System of Liberal Education, Adapted to the Genius of the Government of the United States*, Baltimore, 1799, p. 29.

¹² Shields, Thomas Edward, *Philosophy of Education*, Washington, 1917, p. 357.

¹³ Draper, A. S., "Functions of the State Touching Education," *Educational Review*, Feb., 1898.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

mind. The aim of education was individualistic, and people were quite unwilling to tax themselves for the purposes of general education.¹⁵ The social significance of education could scarcely be regarded as more than a dawning concept, dimly appreciated as yet, and destined to wait long for realization.

Little success characterized any attempt to construct State systems until at length the persistent activities of Horace Mann in Massachusetts and Henry Barnard in Connecticut gave impetus to the movement.¹⁶ Their influence resulted in the appointment of superintendents by the various States and in the elevation of the standard of public education. Schools were inspected, institutes organized, and the State normal schools established. Much of the inspiration for the movement came from Germany where State systems of schools first developed.¹⁷

While the district system persevered even to recent years, the sociological tendency constantly gained ground from 1840 on. Under the State system the conscious emphasis in public education became mainly "to prepare the individual to exercise the right of suffrage intelligently, to perform the duties of citizenship fully and honestly, to discharge the duties of office satisfactorily."¹⁸ As the years have passed, the social movement has received increasing impetus and its interpretation has been significantly widened.

Demand for a National Bureau of Education

Almost concomitantly with the rise of the State school systems the idea developed that the nation should interest itself in the work of education by establishing a "bureau in the home department for obtaining and publishing annually statistical information in regard to public education in the United States."¹⁹ A memorial to this end was reported by Henry Barnard at the national convention of the friends of common schools, October 17, 1849, at which Horace Mann presided.²⁰ Eleven years before, Barnard had visited Washington to learn what school statistics existed there, and finding that the department in charge of the census had done nothing to collect them, "he brought to the attention of President Van Buren the desirability of including educational statistics

¹⁵ Shields, T. E., *Phil. of Ed.*, Washington, 1917, pp. 359-360.

¹⁶ McCormick, Patrick J., *History of Education*, Washington, 1915, pp. 382-383.

¹⁷ Monroe, Paul, *A Brief Course in the History of Education*, New York, 1916, p. 387 and p. 393.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

¹⁹ Steiner, Bernard C., *Life of Henry Barnard*, United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1919, No. 8, p. 69.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

in the census of 1840. These statistics were secured and constituted the earliest recognition of education by the Federal Government. Barnard and Mann used these statistics in 1842 to show the magnitude of the educational interest and the 'utter inadequacy of existing means of popular education to meet the emergencies of a republican government'.²¹ At the meeting of the same organization in 1854, he emphasized the desirability of having the National Government through a competent officer issue an annual educational report.²²

Steiner²³ gives an interesting report of the persevering labor and the many steps involved in shaping the bill for a national bureau. The original bill providing a bureau in the Interior Department, such as now exists, was amended in the course of proceedings to establish the Department of Education on the ground that the commissioner should enjoy a place in the President's cabinet. Thus the first bill for the creation of a Department of Education was introduced in the House of Representatives in 1866 by James A. Garfield. In the Senate the proposal was earnestly championed by Charles Sumner. The bill passed the Senate in February, 1867, and received President Johnson's signature on the second day of March of the same year. As was indeed fitting, Henry Barnard was appointed first commissioner, a post which his unflagging zeal in the interests of education richly merited for him, and which he was destined to fill with consummate ability and distinction. A man of unusual capacity and enthusiasm, gifted with rare inspiration and vision, he lifted his office to a high level of efficiency and set the high standard which the position has since so consistently maintained.

Barnard's first report²⁴ submitted June 2, 1868, was not however favorably received, and as a result the Department of Education was abolished and in its place an Office of Education subordinate to the Department of the Interior was created. Not long after the name was changed to the Bureau of Education, under which it is known to the present. According to the revised statutes, the Bureau is empowered "to collect statistics and facts showing the condition and progress of education in the several States and territories, and to diffuse such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." According to

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 106 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Barnard²⁵ the bill did not contemplate the creation of a national system of education. As commissioner he had no prejudices to impose on the country. It was his purpose rather to bring to light whatever could be gathered from past and present experience.

In summing up the work of Mann and Barnard we may say, then, that their efforts did much to arouse the educational interest of the people of the various States, and to lift the American school out of the intolerable isolation in which the policy of disintegration had withheld it; we may truly say that with them there was instituted the beginning of the national outlook in education.

Agricultural Education—The Land Grant Colleges

Federal interest in agricultural education dates back to the middle of the last century. As early as 1840, Congress received a petition from the Kentucky State Agricultural Society praying that funds of the Smithsonian legacy be devoted to the endowment of an agricultural college.²⁶ In 1848, a petition from a citizen of New York was presented urging that Congress appropriate funds in favor of the State Governments "to the establishment of institutions of science and agriculture."²⁷ A number of similar petitions soon followed. Responding to the sentiment in this direction, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, introduced a resolution in February, 1856, inquiring into the expediency of establishing one or more national agricultural schools, and in 1857 sponsored a bill donating public lands to the States, that colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts might be established.²⁸ This bill was lost and was not introduced again until 1862 when it was finally carried in Congress and approved by President Lincoln. This represents the first grant of public lands to the old States for educational purposes.

Thenceforth Government interest in agricultural education has been constant. According to Congressman Lever,²⁹ the "passage of the first Morrill Act for the endowment and maintenance of at least one agricultural college in each State committed the Federal Government emphatically and irrevocably to a policy of appropriating money to aid in acquiring and diffusing among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with agriculture." Accord-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁶ Germann, George B., *National Legislation Concerning Education*, New York, 1899, p. 37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁹ *Report to accompany H. R. 7951. Co-operative Agricultural Extension Work. Report No. 110, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2.*

ing to Mr. Lever's estimate in 1913, the Federal Government has spent in the last fifty years for the maintenance of agricultural colleges and the State experiment stations a sum approximating \$70,000,000.³⁰ The First Morrill Act was followed by the Hatch Act of 1887 which provided for the establishment of experiment stations, and by the Second Morrill Act of 1890 which was "to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts." Finally in 1914, the Agricultural Extension Act (Smith-Lever Bill) was passed, the intent of this measure being "to provide for co-operative agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an Act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred sixty-two," etc.

As has been pointed out by Germann,³¹ in all of the educational relations of the Government up to and including the Second Morrill Act, but exclusive of its relations to the schools of the District of Columbia, the territorial and Indian schools, "the General Government has functioned merely as a patron of education, without exercising or even attempting to exercise an administrative control over the beneficiaries of its largesses." While few conditions were imposed in earlier enactments, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 involved many. That the Federal Government has the right to maintain an administrative control over the funds issued to the States is now quite generally sustained; in fact, it is a fundamental assumption in the Vocational Education Act of 1917, in the Vocational Rehabilitation Act approved June, 1920, and in many other bills that were pending during the Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Congresses. It is quite apparent, therefore, that in all similar measures in the future, the Federal Government will control the conditions under which its moneys are disbursed by the States. According to the Second Annual report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education,³² "we have passed from the idea of the use of Federal money for indefinite educational purposes to the use of Federal money for very specific educational purposes carefully defined in the statute. We have passed from the idea of no obligation on the part of the State in the expenditure of Federal money to the conception of a solemn obligation on the part of the State to use the money in conformity with the requirements of the law making the appropriation; from the idea of no machinery, no

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³¹ Germann, Geo. B., *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

³² Washington, 1918, p. 10.

system, and no organization to safeguard and administer the funds to the idea of a definite system, a thoroughgoing organization, and careful safeguards in order that the Federal money may be spent effectively for the purposes intended." This obviously indicates a progressive step in the centralization movement, and is not without its message for those who steadfastly maintain that current educational measures now pending in Congress and carrying large financial appropriations, (notably the Sterling-Towner Bill), in no way involve Federal control of education in the several States.

According to Andrews,³³ there are now fifty-three institutions in the list of land-grant colleges. The first recipient of a share of the land grant fund was Kansas State Agricultural College which has been a beneficiary since September, 1862. The University of Arizona is the latest beneficiary, having received funds only since June, 1910. The total yearly income from the fund as disbursed in 1914 consisted of \$856,318.95.

Vocational Education Under the Smith-Hughes Act

The Smith-Hughes Act, approved February, 1917, is "An Act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for co-operation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for co-operation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure."

This Act represents "the culmination of an evolution in national appropriations for vocational education."³⁴ Beginning with the Morrill Act of 1862, the Federal Government has, by a series of acts, the Second Morrill Act, the Nelson Amendment, the Adams Act, the Smith-Lever Act, and the Vocational Education Act, gradually found its way to a philosophy and policy in the use of national money for vocational educational purposes, and in this span of legislation has passed from the idea of granting Federal moneys for indefinite educational purposes to an exacting, specific and definitive policy in its requirements upon the States in the use of Federal funds.³⁵ Of all Federal enactments up to the present, none imposes more conditions or embodies more specific obligations upon the States than does the Smith-Hughes Act. The central reason for the various restrictions was to render the

³³ Andrews, Benj. F., *The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land Grant Colleges*, U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1918, No. 13, pp. 58-63.

³⁴ *Second Annual Report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education*, Washington, 1918, p. 9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9-10.

Act generally effective, and to prevent misapplication of Federal moneys.

According to the Statement of Policies³⁶ of the Federal Board for Vocational Education created by the Act, the Government does not propose "to undertake the organization and immediate direction" of vocational education in the States but "undertakes to pay over to the States annually certain sums of money and to co-operate in fostering and promoting vocational training and the training of vocational teachers." Although co-operation on the part of the States was not coerced by the measure, the various States were quick in passing enabling acts to avail themselves of its provisions, and they universally agreed to meet the specific obligations outlined in the Act. According to Section 8 of the Act, the State Board (appointed by each of the several States to administer the Act in their respective areas) must "prepare plans, showing the kind of vocational education for which it is proposed that the appropriation shall be used; the kind of schools and equipment; courses of study; methods of instruction," etc., and if, upon submission, the "Federal Board finds the same to be in conformity with the provisions and purposes of the Act, the same shall be approved."

The appropriations available under the Act increase annually until 1926, when the total appropriation available for the purposes of the Act reaches its maximum, \$7,200,000. Subventions are made to the States on condition that they cover dollar for dollar the sums apportioned them, and provided further that they spend said moneys in accordance with the requirements of the Act.

The autonomy of the States, it is held, "has been entirely preserved" by the following provisions:³⁷

1. The Federal Government deals with the work in the States only through an official State board created by the legislative machinery of the State.
2. The Federal Government deals with the State in terms of standards and policies and not in terms of particular institutions or individuals.
3. The Federal Government deals with the State in terms of the conditions within that State and not in terms of the United States as a whole.

In addition, the Board offers four fundamental principles as a *raison d'être* for co-operation on the part of the Federal

³⁶ *Bulletin*, No. 1, The Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington, 1917, p. 7.

³⁷ *Second Annual Report of Federal Board*, Washington, 1918, p. 11.

Government with the States in the promotion of vocational training.³⁸

1. That vocational education being essential to national welfare, it is a function of the National Government to stimulate the States to undertake this new and needed form of service.

2. That Federal funds are necessary in order to equalize the burden of carrying on the work among the States.

3. That since the Federal Government is vitally interested in the success of vocational education, it should, so to speak, purchase a degree of participation in this work.

4. That only by creating such a relationship between the Federal and the State Governments can proper standards of educational efficiency be set up.

While previous enactments permitted the Federal Government to deal directly with individual institutions, the Smith-Hughes Act differs in this respect; it touches the State only through the State Board, and thus not only the administration of the Act is facilitated, but, it is further maintained, the autonomy of the State is not interfered with.³⁹ In a word, "partly by the Act itself, partly by the Federal Board, standards of vocational education are established meeting the approbation of both the State and Federal Governments. Each in its own sphere supreme, the State Board and Federal Board, in order to function at all, must come together on the ground thus briefly described."⁴⁰

The foregoing paragraphs may be said to give as impartial and complete an analysis of the import of the Act as the limitations of this study permit. In passing, however, it may be well to summarize briefly the prevailing attitude in reference to the trend vocationally.

In the mind of Professor Sharp, "American education is going vocationally mad, going bad; for behind this mischievous propaganda is a purpose and a philosophy not had of democracy."⁴¹ Ellwood complains that enthusiasts for vocational education confuse it with socialized education in general; he insists that vocationalization is only a part of socialization, and that it can be made safe for democracy only by becoming a part of a general program of socialized education.⁴² In other words, the purely vocational curriculum needs to be liberalized by a reasonable infiltration of cultural elements.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

⁴⁰ *Bulletin* No. 1, The Federal Board for Vocational Education, *Statement of Policies*, Washington, 1917, p. 8.

⁴¹ Sharp, Dallas Lore, *Patrons of Democracy*, Boston, 1919, p. 16.

⁴² Ellwood, Charles S., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, New York, 1919, pp. 384-385.

Dewey is of like mind with Snedden in the belief that "existing economic conditions inevitably produce social statification,"⁴³ and inclines to the view that "any scheme of vocational education which takes its point of departure from the industrial regime that now exists, is likely to assume and to perpetuate its divisions and weaknesses, and thus to become an instrument in accomplishing the feudal dogma of social predestination. Those who are in a position to make their wishes good, will demand a liberal, a cultural occupation, and one which fits for directive power the youth in whom they are directly interested. To split the system and give to others less fortunately situated, an education conceived mainly as a specific trade preparation, is to treat the schools as an agency for transferring the older division of labor and leisure, culture and service, mind and body, directed and directive class, into a society nominally democratic."⁴⁴

An excellent illustration of narrow vocationalism may be gathered from one of the earlier writings of David Snedden, the well-known authority on the subject. In the volume, "Educational Readjustment," published in 1913, he states that "in vocational schools the standards of vocational education should control to the degree found essential to vocational efficiency. Given this condition, place may be found in the program for some general education, but the latter must be so organized as not to interfere with the systematic vocational work. For example, studies not connected with vocational education should probably not be followed during the active working day."⁴⁵ This attitude has not failed to appeal to the selfish mercantile and industrial interests, and it clearly reflects the mind of those who emphasize vocational fitness to the neglect of social efficiency. According to Cope, such training loses sight of the value of personality since it seeks to develop only workers or efficient machines; learning to make a living is only a part of life, and by no means does it imply that the young should be deprived of their heritage of joy and culture in order that they may acquire the habits of wage-earning.⁴⁶ In like manner, Ryan maintains that vocational training "must be established on a democratic basis and given in a democratic spirit, so that the recipients shall neither be marked off as a separate and lower class in separate schools,

⁴³ Snedden, David, *Vocational Education*, New York, 1920, p. 66.

⁴⁴ Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, New York, 1916, p. 372.

⁴⁵ Snedden, David, *Educational Readjustment*, Boston, 1913, pp. 190 ff.

⁴⁶ Cope, Henry F., *Education for Democracy*, New York, 1920, p. 13, also p. 53.

nor deprived of that amount of general education which should be available for all elements of the population."⁴⁷

The conviction is gaining ground therefore that society will have to counteract the selfish vocational tendency whose explicit aim is increased individual efficiency and enlarged earning power.⁴⁸ The regimentation and discipline of the classes for vocational efficiency without giving them an appropriate share in the common spiritual and social inheritance of the race is coming to be regarded as the expression of an unsavory materialism, and the antithesis of true democracy. It is encouraging to note in the reconstruction literature that vocational education is being conceived in a more valid and harmonious relation to the other essential influences that make for individual development. To quote from Snedden's recent work: "The primary object of the state or of society in its collective capacity in promoting effective vocational education may be considered to be the safety of the state itself. Nevertheless, the security and effectiveness of the state can be achieved as one of its conditions only by means of individuals who are in themselves effective physically, vocationally, civically, and culturally."⁴⁹ Christianity, finally, would insist that the individual's social adjustment is rendered all the more secure by adding the further condition that he be morally effective.

From these paragraphs it may reasonably be inferred that the administration of vocational education under the Federal Board has not been regarded as an unmixed blessing. In some quarters the Act has met with considerable disfavor; in fact, many prominent educators fear that the Act infringes upon the autonomy of the States, and that its plan of operation is too highly centralized. In a statement submitted to the Committee on Education of Congress, Keith insisted that the Smith-Hughes Law is "the one Federal educational act above all others that causes friction in the States by virtue of its infringement upon the rights of the States to organize, supervise, and administer education within their borders. Until this act is changed, its administration is a liability rather than an asset to any division, bureau, or department."⁵⁰ Similarly, President A. F. Woods, of the University of Maryland, in an address delivered at the Third Annual

⁴⁷ Ryan, John A., *The Catholic Educational Association Bulletin*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Report of Proceedings, St. Louis, Mo., 1919, "Vocational Education in a Democratic State."

⁴⁸ Shields, T. E., *Phil. of Ed.*, Washington, 1917, p. 370.

⁴⁹ Snedden, David, *Vocational Education*, New York, 1920, p. 38.

⁵⁰ *Joint Hearings Before the Committees on Education, Congress of the United States, 67th Congress, 1st Session, on S. 1607 and H. R. 5837, May, 1921*, pp. 95-96.

Meeting of the American Council on Education, May 7, 1920, declared that in the Smith-Hughes Act "there is too much of a tendency to control the details of the operation of the Act in the various States..... I think that as a result of our experience under the Smith-Hughes Act, that future legislation should carefully preserve the powers of the States. This would reserve to the States the right to utilize the powers of the Act under their various conditions in the most effective way without too high a degree of centralization. It will never be possible for any Secretary of Education or any other such officer to fully appreciate and understand the problems that each State may have to deal with in the various localities."⁵⁴ However, the friends of the Act insist that its operation to date has been successful, and that the results thus far achieved amply justify its existence; believing that its plan is sound, they are now supporting the Kenyon Bill,⁵⁵ which amends the Smith-Hughes Act, and provides increased appropriations for the purpose of co-operating with the States in home economics education.

In a later chapter there will follow a more minute criticism of the policy of Federal control of education. Accordingly further study of the principles involved in the Smith-Hughes Act is rendered unnecessary at this point. So far we have surveyed briefly the relation of the Federal Government to education up to the far-reaching legislative movement ushered in since the war. Our next chapter will be devoted to a review of the measures now pending in Congress, and to an appreciation and criticism of their general import.

⁵⁴ *The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 4, "The Operation of the Smith-Lever Act and its Bearing on Future Educational Legislation." Note: Taking cognizance of the features of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes Acts which impair the educational authority and responsibility of the States, the Department of Superintendence of the N. E. A., meeting at Chicago, March 2, 1922, resolved to call upon Congress to amend those measures.

⁵⁵ S. 1061, introduced in the 67th Congress, 1st Session, April 21, 1921.

CHAPTER III

THE CENTRALIZATION MOVEMENT AT PRESENT: PENDING LEGISLATION

As we noted in Chapter I, there were pending during the Sixty-sixth Congress more than ninety bills and joint resolutions bearing in some manner on education. To be sure, the vast majority of these measures were not reported on the floor of either house during that session of Congress. The Senate was preoccupied with important international issues, and both in the Senate and in the House educational matters were obliged to give way to a multitude of other affairs. Urgent though the emergency in education was presumed to be, the failure of Congress to pass any of the measures has not been generally regretted. In the first place, the nature of the emergency was not fully appreciated. Secondly, while not a few realized that something ought to be done and done quickly, the character of the legislation best adapted to meet the crisis had not become clearly evident, and the conscience of the American people at large was barely awakening to the facts of the situation, and ideas concerning advisable procedure were but slowly beginning to crystallize in various parts of the country. Finally, the national election of 1920 was approaching, and in the excited political atmosphere prior to the election, it was not to be expected that Congress as a whole would be able or even disposed to consider carefully the merits of the many educational resolutions that had been introduced before it.

Despite the inaction of Congress, the many advocates of educational reform remained undaunted, and at once proceeded with renewed zest to take every possible step to secure favorable action in the subsequent session. Practically every available instrument of propaganda was resorted to, and school campaigns held in various States emphasized the paramount need of greater interest in the movement for increased educational efficiency throughout the nation. The Sixty-sixth Congress, however, concluded its labors March 4, 1921, and in the jam of legislation preceding adjournment, the pending educational bills were lost. At present, a strong movement is under way to bring about early consideration of them in the Sixty-seventh Congress.

It will be readily conceded that the many bills now pending are not of equal import, and therefore do not require uniform

treatment in the course of this dissertation; hence, it will be our purpose to consider only the more significant and characteristic measures, and, as far as possible, to study the fundamental principles involved in the bills pointing out the principal criticisms which have been advanced with regard to them. Pursuing this plan it will be possible at least to discern the general trend of the Federalization movement. The less comprehensive measures will be taken up first, and accordingly the analysis of the Sterling-Towner Bill will be reserved to the subsequent chapter.

The Kenyon Bill, S. 846

The purpose of this bill is "to promote Americanization by providing for co-operation with the several States in the education of non-English speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes."

A somewhat similar bill was introduced in the 66th Congress by Senator Kenyon, and succeeded in passing the Senate January 26, 1920. The bill was straightway referred to the House Committee on Education for action, but failed to obtain the sanction of the House. Undoubtedly a more determined effort would have been made to have the measure pass the lower chamber had not an Americanization clause been inserted in the Smith-Towner (now Sterling-Towner) Bill, which was likewise pending in the House. The reintroduction of the Kenyon Bill has led to the observation that a number of the less comprehensive education bills endeavor to achieve piecemeal and singly what the Sterling-Towner Bill purports to achieve in one large sweep.

The Americanization movement originated as a war measure. America was conscious from the outset of the World War of the heterogeneity of ideals and sentiments that prevailed among her inhabitants. During the previous decades, many sociologists had fancied America as "the melting pot," and had placed a higher value on the product of the amalgamation process than results seemed later to justify. Consequently, it came to be feared that our society was segmented, and that the social and racial stratifications evidently in existence, would, if left to themselves, become a serious menace to the stability of our institutions and to the solidarity of our democracy. In addition to this, the draft revelations offered abundant testimony of the deficient education of our people. Indications from all sides pointed out that huge numbers of our population had failed to develop the American sense, and that many of their ideals and aspirations were alien to the heart of America.

It soon became apparent that national interest should be aroused, and at the suggestion of the National Committee of One Hundred, the Advisory Council on Americanization to the United States Bureau of Education, the Secretary of the Interior called a conference on Americanization as a War Measure, in Washington, April 3, 1918.⁵³ Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, presided, and the attendance included governors, State officers, representatives of National and State Councils of Defence, educators, representatives of industries, Chambers of Commerce, and other associations.

In his opening address, Secretary Lane pointed out that a democracy must have a "self-protecting sense as well as a creative spirit;" that while the theory of our government repudiates paternalism, we should not bestow freedom and equal opportunity upon the newcomers to our shores without teaching what these terms mean; finally, that the significance of the word Americanization should be interpreted in terms of help, sympathy, largeness of view, the largest of human fellowship, and that it should be translated into terms of wages and living conditions of men.⁵⁴ Before the initial meeting was brought to a close, Secretary Lane introduced the question: "Should a policy of Federal aid for Americanization be adopted?"⁵⁵ In order to frame a definite program in response to this and other pertinent questions, a committee of nine was appointed. When the conference reassembled, Governor Stewart of Montana reported for the committee as follows:

1. We recommend the adoption of the policy that the Federal Government should co-operate with the States, and through the States with the local communities in carrying on an extended, intensive, and immediate Americanization program, including education in every possible way, especially for non-English speaking foreign-born adults.

2. That the industries employing large numbers of non-English speaking foreign-born should co-operate with the local community, State and Federal Governments in carrying out this proposition.

3. That adequate appropriations should be provided by the Congress to be expended through appropriate governmental agencies for these purposes.

4. That in all schools in which elementary subjects are taught, the English language alone shall be used.⁵⁶

⁵³ *Americanization as a War Measure, Bulletin No. 18, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1918, p. 5.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

To carry out the purpose of these recommendations, a resolution was offered by Governor Manning of South Carolina the main feature of which was to appoint a committee to ask a hearing before a joint session of the Senate and House Committees on Education for the purpose of "furthering legislation that will give Federal direction and leadership to the movement for teaching the English language to the illiterates and non-English speaking persons of foreign origin residing in the United States, and which will promote, through the public schools, the systematic instruction of such persons in American ideals, standards, and citizenship."⁶⁷ In this conference, then, we may discern a progressive step in the Americanization movement, and its crystallization into a measure of Federal interest.

The principal features of the Americanization Bill may be summarized as follows:

1. Co-operation with the several States is to be directed through the Bureau of Education.

2. The sum of \$5,000,000 is appropriated for the first year's work, and annually thereafter until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the sum of \$12,500,000 is appropriated.

3. \$500,000 may be expended annually for administration and research.

4. The balance of the appropriation is to be allotted to the several States "in the ratio which the number of resident illiterates and other persons unable to understand, speak, read, or write the English language, sixteen years of age and over, bears to the number of resident illiterates and other persons unable to understand, speak, read, or write the English language, sixteen years of age and over, within continental United States, exclusive of the District of Columbia and the Territory of Alaska, according to the last published United States census."

5. In order to avail itself of the money appropriation, each State must through its legislature (a) accept the provisions of the Act; (b) authorize its department of education or chief school officer to co-operate with the United States in the work authorized in the Act; (c) appropriate for the purposes of the Act an amount equal to that allotted to the State by the United States; (d) require, under penalty, all residents who are citizens of the United States, sixteen years of age or over and under twenty-one years of age, and all residents of more than six months who are aliens, sixteen

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

years of age or over and under forty-five years of age, who are illiterate or unable to understand, speak, read, or write the English language, to attend classes of instruction for not less than two hundred hours per annum until they shall have completed a specified course approved by the Secretary of the Interior; (e) provide, as far as possible, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for the education of residents of twenty-one or over who are citizens of the United States, and of resident aliens over forty-five who are illiterate; (f) require the preparation and submission to the Secretary of the Interior, annually, of rules and regulations designed to enforce the provisions of the State law and the rules and regulations of the Secretary of the Interior; and (g) submit annually to the Secretary of the Interior a report which shall show (1) the plan for administration and supervision, (2) courses of study, (3) methods and kind of instruction, (4) equipment, (5) qualifications of teachers, supervisors, directors of education, etc., (6) plans for the preparation of teachers, supervisors, etc., and (7) receipts and expenditures of money for the preceding fiscal year.

6. The Secretary of the Interior may withhold the allotment to any state whenever he determines that any portions of the sums allotted are not being applied for the purposes of the Act.

7. The Secretary of the Interior shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, and may co-operate with any department or agency of the Government and request such agencies to co-operate with him and with the several States.

While this bill represents an earnest effort on the part of its supporters to realize an adequate and effective program of Americanization, it has been criticised from several angles. On the one hand there are those who are avowedly hostile to any movement involving the transfer of the educational burden from the States to the Federal Government; on the other hand are those who discern weaknesses in the bill or object to its *modus operandi*.

In the brochure "Arguments Submitted in connection with a Referendum on Proposed Federal Legislation Providing for the Creation of a Department of Education and Federal Aid for Education,"⁵⁸ it is stated: "More than any other educational measure, this one (the Kenyon Bill) places full control of this large national undertaking in the hands of a Washington department. The Secretary of the Interior

⁵⁸ Pamphlet, American Council on Education, Washington, pp. 11-12.

through the Bureau of Education is charged with formulating the courses of study to be used throughout the States, with the approval of State plans, with prescribing standards and with supervision. He is authorized to withhold appropriations if local arrangements are not satisfactory to him. It is not the leadership of an office equipped to investigate the subject and bring to bear upon it the best thought of the country that is provided for, but rather a scheme of bureaucratic domination. While the amount of money involved in the Kenyon Bill is small, the principle is judged by its opponents to be dangerous in the extreme." Moreover, the opponents of Federal subsidy as provided in the bill insist that the principle of dollar for dollar appropriations is not to be accepted as valid; the motive appealed to is a low one; States are induced to give merely in order to share Federal moneys; and finally "the device is on trial. It has caused endless friction in some quarters. Up-to-date it has been a very dubious success."⁵⁹

The supporters of the bill insist that the States have failed to remove illiteracy or to provide adequately for Americanization, and that therefore it has become a national obligation.⁶⁰ It is maintained, moreover, that citizens are citizens not merely of States or local communities, but citizens of the nation as well, and that it is of vital importance to the nation that all of its citizens be sufficiently intelligent to discharge the full duties of citizenship, and that all of the nation's wealth should be taxed in order to equalize educational opportunities in all of its parts. The condition that the States match dollar for dollar is defended on the ground that "by this means local responsibility is preserved and the smaller divisions of the nation are compelled to make a reasonable provision for education."⁶¹

It should be noted in passing that several other Americanization measures are still pending in Congress. The Vestal Bill, H. R. 6959, corresponds to the Kenyon Bill; the chief point of difference lies in the financial provisions of the former which limits the appropriation to \$4,100,000. The Johnson Bill, H. R. 9, which is designated mainly to amend the existing naturalization laws, authorizes the Division of Citizenship Training of the Bureau of Naturalization to promote the civic education of candidates for citizenship. (Sec. 16). To carry on this work, \$300,000 is to be appropriated annually in addition to the customary amounts allotted for positions in the Division of Citizenship Training.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

The Fish Resolution, H. R. 72

The Fish Resolution, which is one of the less conspicuous Americanization measures, was introduced in the House, April, 1921. This resolution would require firstly, that Congress "recommend to every State in the Union that it enact into law immediately measures to the end that the English language be the controlling medium in our elementary and high schools and schools of high school standing, both public and private, and that all such schools shall be required to teach at least one year of American history and civil government and all pupils attending such schools shall attend upon these studies," and secondly, that "every college and university of the United States, both public and private, be required to give merited credit for these subjects in their entrance examinations."

Since the war, the States have taken the initiative in making English the basic language of instruction in all schools public and private. In general, the colleges and universities have not been unwilling to give due credit for American history and civics in their entrance examinations. In view of this fact, the passing of the second feature of the resolution would involve an unmerited reprimand to our higher institutions of learning. Without doubt, many in sympathy with the purpose of the resolution would oppose it on principle, believing that it would provide a precedent for Congressional dictation in matters affecting higher education.

The Fess Bill, H. R. 25

The object of the Fess Bill is "to create a national university at the seat of the Federal Government." According to Section 2 of the bill, its purpose is threefold:

"First. To promote the advance of science, pure and applied, and of the liberal and fine arts by original investigation and research and by such other means as may appear suitable to the purpose in view.

"Second. To provide for the higher instruction and training of men and women for posts of importance and responsibility in the public service of State or Nation, and for the practice of such callings and professions as may require for their worthy pursuit a higher training.

"Third. To co-operate with the scientific departments of the Federal Government, with the colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts founded upon the proceeds of the Federal land grant Act of 1862, with the State universities, and with other institutions of higher learning."

The bill further provides: "That the university shall confer no academic degrees." (Sec. 4). "That the university shall be governed and directed by a board of trustees in cooperation with an advisory council." (Sec. 5). "That the board of trustees shall consist of the Commissioner of Education of the United States and twelve additional members appointed by the President of the United States for a term of twelve years." (Sec. 6). "That the advisory council shall consist of one representative from each State in the Union. The representative from each State shall be the president or acting president of the State university in case there be a State university in said State; if not, the governor of the State may appoint a citizen of the State, learned and experienced in matters of education, to represent said State in the advisory council." (Sec. 7).

In order to fulfil the terms of the bill and facilitate thorough investigation, the various Federal museums, libraries, bureaus, observatories and departments of expert research shall be open for the use of graduate students. The bill carries an appropriation of \$500,000.

The proposition to create a national university is not new; in fact, it may be traced to the beginnings of the Republic. The idea was especially dear to Washington. In his first message to Congress he referred to it, and "in his will he gave fifty shares in the Potomac Company toward the endowment of such an institution, provided Congress should 'incline a fostering hand toward it'."⁶² The statesmen of Washington's day, however, were not profoundly stirred in this direction. In an address to the Legislature of Maryland in 1798, the Reverend Samuel Knox insisted that "the manner in which the subject of instituting a National University passed through the great legislative council of the nation" was abundant testimony of the lack of educational zeal on the part of the country.⁶³ Washington did not doubt the power of Congress to maintain a university, but this view was not held by Jefferson and the "strict constructionists." Of recent decades, however, the question of the desirability rather than the constitutionality of creating a national University has become the chief source of argument. (Note). In the report of the Committee on the National University Project issued

⁶² *Cyclopedia of Education*, New York, 1913, "National University."

⁶³ Knox, Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Note: An excellent presentation of arguments on "The Constitutionality of a National University" is given in the report by Edmund L. James, of the University of Chicago, printed in the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1898-99, Vol. I, pp. 662-671. The opinion of James is that "there is a distinct grant in the Constitution of the United States to the Federal Government to establish and maintain a national university." This opinion is based on five distinct grounds.

in 1899 under the auspices of the National Educational Association, it was held that "the Government is not called upon to maintain at the capital a university in the ordinary sense of the term," and the general principle was laid down that "it has been, and is, one of the recognized functions of the Federal Government to encourage and aid but not to control, the educational instrumentalities of the country."⁶⁴ In the opinion of the committee it was advisable to study the opportunities for advanced research afforded by the Government, and to see in what measure existing institutions would be able to co-operate to this end with the Smithsonian Institution.

The year 1907 witnessed a concerted movement in behalf of a national university. During that year a powerful appeal was made to Congress by the National University Committee of Four Hundred, and the National Association of State Universities endorsed the project by an almost unanimous vote. Likewise the N. E. A. has supported the measure, and ever since 1901 has afforded it encouragement and sympathy. It has been generally assumed that the university should be of graduate character and that it should depend largely upon the many facilities for research that are available in the various government bureaus and departments. Accordingly the conviction has prevailed that the national university should in no wise undertake the functions or encroach upon the sphere of existing institutions, and the provisions of the Fess Bill are evidently calculated to avoid any such friction.

The chief advantage of a national university as provided in this bill would lie in the equipment of experts for the public service of State or Nation. It is believed, moreover, that it would lift research under government auspices to a higher and more intensive plane than that on which it is now carried on in the various federal bureaus and departments.

The Fletcher Bill, S. 622

The Fletcher Bill proposes the establishment of a "National Conservatory of Music for the education of pupils in music in all its branches, vocal and instrumental." The conservatory is to be fostered and maintained by the Federal Government, and is to be supplemented when practicable by branches in various sections of the country. Control is vested in a general board of regents, consisting of the President, the Vice-president, the Speaker of the House, the Chairman of the Committee on Education of the Senate and the Chairman of the Committee on Education of the House of Representa-

⁶⁴*Annual Report*, U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1898-99, Vol. I, p. 661.

tives. In addition to the board of regents, the plan of administration calls for an advisory board of directors consisting of fifteen members, and a dean of the faculty of the conservatory.

The first duty of the director general shall be to make a survey and research of musical conditions and deeds in the United States; he is to prepare plans for the organization and equipment of said conservatory, and report to the board of regents, who in turn shall report to Congress with their recommendations, and suggest the necessary appropriation. One of the principal aims of the conservatory is to "co-operate effectively with organizations and groups who are endeavoring to promote music in any line, in community work, in schools, or in aiding American composers, artists, and musicians in general, in order to encourage musical education in this country." In addition, plans are to be prepared whereby music may be brought into the rural districts and rural life made more attractive.

The conservatory is to have a curriculum of studies, and is to enjoy the power to grant degrees or diplomas. To carry out the initial work of organization, an appropriation of \$50,000 is authorized.

The introduction of the Sheppard Bill shows how varied are the present demands upon the Government, and how general is the tendency to resort to the Federal Government for leadership and support in the furtherance of educational and cultural interests. This bill at once invites the question whether or not patronage of music rightly falls within the sphere of national interest. If musical education is regarded a national problem, it becomes extremely difficult to determine the boundaries of governmental action, and it inevitably follows that federal leadership and support becomes equally admissible along many other lines of social and artistic endeavor.

The Tillman Bill, H. R. 4129

Of recent years students of rural sociology have persistently pointed out that one of the gravest educational issues facing the country is the rural school problem, especially in the mountain districts of the South. In an effort to ameliorate conditions, the Tillman Bill to create the "National Board of Rural Industrial Schools for Mountain Children" was introduced in the House, April 1921.

The duty of the board shall be to investigate the educational needs of the remote and less favored mountain sections

of the United States, and then to "establish and maintain, preferably in widely scattered mountain sections, twenty industrial schools for mountain children of both sexes, at which schools shall be taught the common and high school branches, military science and tactics and all other branches recommended and agreed upon by said board with special reference to instruction in domestic science, farming, road engineering, and scientific and industrial education." The bill carries an appropriation of \$300,000.

This bill, although intended for a worthy purpose, would continue a step farther Federal control of education in the States. Granting the necessity of Federal action to provide education in the mountain sections, it seems unwise to create a new Federal Board to administer the Act. The tasks outlined in the bill might well be referred to the Rural School Division of the Bureau of Education, or else to the Federal Board for Vocational Education, since industrial education is the chief aim of the measure. Under existing statutes, the educational effort of the Federal Government is carried on by too many distinct and isolated boards, bureaus, and departments. Hence, the creation of a new educational board is highly undesirable. If the Federal Government is obliged to assume the responsibilities implied in the Tillman Bill, a more practicable plan of operation should be found.

The Raker Bill, H. R. 4116

The Raker Bill proposes to enlarge the function of the Bureau of Education. Its object is to "make accessible to all the people the valuable scientific and other research work conducted by the United States through the establishment of a national school of correspondence." Under the bill it becomes the duty of the Commissioner of Education "to formulate a plan or plans whereby the publications of the various departments and bureaus of the Government shall be properly classified and lists thereof be published for free distribution, and to cause instruction by correspondence to be carried on with all persons, bona fide residents of the United States, who may apply therefor, and without charge, except such publications as any such persons shall desire to purchase and which shall be supplied to them at actual cost."

It is generally conceded that large numbers of American citizens are unaware of the vast amount of literature published annually by the Government. At present the various bureaus and departments issue independent lists of available publications, and while composite lists are as yet unobtainable for general publication, it is apparent that any plan that

would inform the public mind concerning these publications is to be cordially welcomed. To the vast army of teachers throughout the country they should prove an especial boon.

With regard to the correspondence instruction provided by the Raker Bill, no definite mode of procedure is given. The plans are to be devised by the Commissioner of Education, and requests for such appropriations as may be necessary to carry out the measure are to be submitted annually to Congress. The importance of the Bureau of Education as a national correspondence school would depend on many factors. It is conceivable that under certain circumstances it might become a very unwieldy agency, due to the nationwide scope of its work. At present correspondence school education is being successfully conducted by many of the State universities and other local agencies in various parts of the country.

The Raker Bill, H. R. 4385

Like the bill just reviewed, H. R. 4385, also introduced by Mr. Raker, aims to increase the influence of the Bureau of Education. This measure, introduced April, 1921, provides for the creation of a Division of Library Service in the Bureau, and authorizes the payment of \$8,100 annually for salaries of experts and employes connected with this service. In the language of the bill, "it shall be the purpose and duty of such division to increase the efficiency of American libraries by providing current information concerning Government activities. It shall collect and organize information regarding printed matter issued by the Federal Government, and shall make available to the libraries of the United States the sources of such information. It shall provide digests of this material, with suggestions, as to its use, in order that material may be made quickly available to users of libraries." Another bill, H. R. 2458, introduced by Mr. Dallinger contain provisions identical to those in the Raker Bill.

The Capper Bill, S. 416

The Capper Bill provides for "the promotion of physical education in the United States through co-operation with the States in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education, including health supervisors and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes." (Sec. 1). Physical education in the definition of the bill is the thorough preparation of "the boys and girls of the Nation for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship through the development of bod-

ily vigor and endurance, muscular strength and skill, bodily and mental poise, and such desirable moral and social qualities as courage, self-control, self-subordination, co-operation under leadership and disciplined initiative." (Sec. 2).

An initial appropriation of \$10,000,000 is provided for the first fiscal year; for each subsequent year an amount sufficient to allot one dollar per child to each State accepting the provisions of the Act is called for. (Sec. 3). The general appropriation is to be allotted in the proportion which the population of each State between the ages of six and eighteen years bears to the total population of the United States between those years. (Sec. 4). For the administration of the Act a Division of Physical Education is to be established in the Bureau of Education, to be in charge of a director, aided by specialists and assistants. (Sec. 5).

According to the Act, the Commissioner of Education, through the Division of Physical Education is to "make and publish recommendations to aid the States in carrying out the provisions of this Act, and shall make or cause to be made studies, demonstrations, and reports to aid the States in the organization and conduct of physical education in elementary, secondary, continuation and normal schools and in other institutions of higher learning." (Sec. 6). He is also required to co-operate with such bureaus and agencies of the Federal Government as may have relations with the physical education of children of school age. (Sec. 7). For administration and investigation the sum of \$300,000 is to be allotted annually to the Bureau of Education. (Sec. 8).

It is provided further that the United States Public Health Service shall co-operate with the Division of Physical Education of the Bureau of Education, by making "studies, investigations, and demonstrations relating to the health supervision of children of school age and the sanitation of school buildings, equipment and grounds." (Sec. 9). To carry out the provisions of Section 9, the Public Health Service is to receive \$200,000 annually. (Sec. 10).

Each State accepting the Act must designate the State's chief educational authority who will represent the State in the administration of the Act. No Federal moneys are to be turned over to the State for the payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education until that State shall have established a satisfactory system for the preparation of supervisors and teachers. Within five years after the acceptance of the Act, each State shall make provision for the physical education of all children between the ages of six and eighteen

years. No money shall be apportioned to any State from the funds provided in Section 3 of this Act unless a sum equally as large be provided by the State or local authorities or by both for the same purposes. (Sec. 11).

The State authority is to present to the Commissioner of Education "plans showing how and for what objects" it is proposed to use the appropriation allotted. These plans must show that the State is prepared to carry out the provisions of this Act, else the funds are not apportioned to the State. (Sec. 12). To benefit by the Act, it must be made clear to the Commissioner of Education that the State in its plan of organization of physical education "shall provide that such physical education is planned to meet the needs of all of the children of the State from six to eighteen years of age, inclusive; and that the State, county, district, or local authority or any combination of these shall provide such playgrounds, athletic fields, gymnasias as are locally necessary for a well rounded course of physical education." (Sec. 13). The Commissioner of Education is authorized "to prescribe plans for keeping accounts of the expenditure of such funds as may be apportioned to the States under the provisions of this Act and to audit such accounts." (Sec. 14). The Commissioner may withhold the apportionment of any State for the next ensuing fiscal year if the current apportionment is not being spent according to the provisions of the Act. (Sec. 16). The Commissioner is required to report to Congress annually on the administration of the Act. (Sec. 17).

Taking cognizance of the alarming percentage of men found physically deficient in the draft examinations in the recent war, the Capper Bill aims to prevent the possibility of witnessing the rise of another generation similarly deficient. "In the first national army draft in 1917, when the physical standards were kept high, thirty-four per cent of the men between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age were found unfit for general military service. This is an indictment directly of the society in which these men had grown to maturity, and indirectly of the health service which has been offered in our public school system.....Society cannot afford to have boys and girls grow into manhood and womanhood physically inefficient if it is possible to remove the defect or to give the opportunity for normal development.....The greatest source of wealth in any community is to be found in the normal physical development of boys and girls. The individual training which is provided in our schools can mean little without a sound basis in physical

well-being.”⁶⁵ On the principle, therefore, that the future of the nation depends upon the development of sturdy men and women, sufficiently strong to meet the responsibilities of peace and to serve the common good in time of war, physical education has become a national problem. Hence the comprehensive and detailed program embodied in the Capper Bill.

This bill embodies the familiar subsidy principles seen in the Smith-Hughes Act and in the Kenyon Bill. To disarm certain critics of the bill who opposed it during the 66th Congress, the bill was carefully revised with the result that in the new bill the rights of the States to supervise and administer their facilities for physical education are more carefully defined, and that the parent may, if he desires, object to the compulsory medication of his child.

Although the revised bill is free from many of the objectionable features of the earlier measure, it is believed that the pending bill gives to the Bureau of Education what may amount to complete control over the activities of the States in the work of physical education. Excepting the Sterling-Towner Bill, the Capper Bill is the most far-reaching educational measure now pending in Congress. The Sterling-Towner Bill, it should be added, includes a physical education clause and authorizes as much as \$20,000,000 annually for that purpose. It is believed by many that the Capper Bill serves as an excellent substitute for a plan of compulsory military training, with the added advantage that it would provide appropriate physical direction for girls as well as boys.

THE OWEN BILL, S. 523.

The purpose of the Owen Bill is to create a Department of Education. This measure was originally introduced in the first session of the 65th Congress, April 4, 1917, and failing of action in that session and the subsequent one, was again introduced in the 67th Congress, April 12, 1921. It provides for a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet, and an Assistant Secretary. The present Bureau of Education is to be transferred to the proposed Department and to remain under its jurisdiction. According to Section 5, the province and duty of the proposed Department of Education is "to collect, classify, and disseminate information and advice on all phases of education and through co-operation with State, county, district, and municipal education officers to promote,

⁶⁵ Strayer and Engelhardt, *The Classroom, Teacher*, New York, 1920, pp. 17-18.

foster, and develop advancement and improvement in the public school systems throughout the United States."

While the Owen Bill aims to give education new dignity through the raising of the Government's chief educational office to Cabinet rank, it is not a centralization measure. It contains no provisions for federal control of education in the States; it does not attempt to co-ordinate the many educational offices of the Government under its general direction; and finally, its function in all probability would not appreciably transcend that of the present Bureau of Education. According to a recent criticism, "this bill might, with propriety, have been introduced at any time within the past twenty-five years. This is another way of saying that it does not adequately meet the situation which the war has revealed."⁶⁶

The Husted Resolution, H. J. Res. 93.

The Husted Joint Resolution provides for a Commission on Public Education whose duty shall be "to inquire into the condition of public education in the several States, and to recommend such measures as it may deem advisable for the improvement of the same." According to Section 3 of the resolution, the duty of the commission is to report upon the following particular subjects:

1. The desirability of establishing a uniform system of public education throughout the United States under Federal regulation and control.

2. The advantages, if any, to be secured through Federal legislation of uniform application throughout the United States providing for compulsory education, registration of children, inspection of schools, examination and licensing of public-school teachers, and supervision of teaching.

3. The desirability of establishing a national system of military education and training in the public schools, academies, colleges, and universities in the United States.

4. The improvement of the systems of public education in the several States with a view to securing better and more practical educational results.

5. The desirability of providing optional subjects in educational courses in colleges and universities and the extent, if any, to which such selection should be permitted.

6. Such constitutional amendment, legislation, or both such constitutional amendment and legislation, as may be deemed advisable by said commission and necessary to carry

⁶⁶ Keith and Bagley, *The Nation and the Schools*, New York, 1920, p. 135.

into effect any or all of the foregoing particular subjects of investigation.

This bill represents an attempt to discover a working basis on which to construct an educational policy adapted to the genius of American institutions and responding to the present demands in education. While it may be truly said of many of the educational bills in Congress that they are not derived from due preliminary investigation of the situation they endeavor to remedy, the Husted Resolution on the other hand "represents an approach to the subject of Federal action on education that must especially commend itself to scientifically trained persons. It commits the country to nothing until a careful study has been made."⁶⁷

The Kenyon Bill, S. 1607.

One of the outstanding pledges of the Republican Party in the national election of 1920 was the promotion of the general good through the creation of a Department of Public Welfare with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. As a preliminary step in the fulfillment of this promise, President Harding in his message to Congress, April 12, 1921, urged that steps be taken to redeem the pledge of the administration. Pointing to the importance of the proposed department, he said: "In the realms of education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice, and many other subjects, the government has already undertaken a considerable range of activities. . . . But these undertakings have been scattered through many departments and bureaus without co-ordination and with much overlapping of functions which fritters energies and magnifies the cost."

In pursuance of the President's program, two comprehensive bills were introduced in the Senate in May, 1921. One of the bills, S. 1607, was introduced by Senator Kenyon; the other, S. 1839, by Senator McCormick. These bills would abolish the present Bureau of Education, and transfer its functions to the Department of Public Welfare.

Section 2 of the Kenyon Bill provides that there shall be in the Department of Public Welfare a "Division of Education, which under the general supervision of the Secretary, shall have charge of the educational functions and activities of the department and shall, by investigation, publication, and such other methods as may be authorized by Congress, promote the development of schools and other educational

⁶⁷ *The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 21.

and recreational facilities for the instruction of children and illiterate adults, the training of teachers, and the Americanization of those persons in the United States who lack knowledge of our language or institutions." Co-ordinate with the Division of Education would be a Division of Public Health, a Division of Social Service, and a Division of Veteran Service.

This attempt to submerge education in the proposed department has met the vigorous opposition of many educators.⁶⁸ They insist that the authors of the bill fail to recognize the growing demand for a Department of Education, and hence insist that the provisions of the bill relating to education be deleted.

The bill has been opposed by the N. E. A., which is committed to the support of the Sterling-Towner Bill. While the American Council on Education has not endorsed the Sterling-Towner Bill, it has declared itself by referendum overwhelmingly in favor of a Department of Education.⁶⁹

Various attempts have been made to conciliate the supporters of the Department of Education by calling the proposed welfare department the "Department of Education and Public Welfare." Whether or not the difficulty will be solved in this manner is problematical. Many students of governmental functions insist that in the regrouping of the administrative units of the government, each Department should be uni-functional; that is to say, it should pursue more closely a single line of effort.

⁶⁸ *Joint Hearings before the Committees on Education, Congress of the United States 67th Congress, 1st Session, on 1607 and H. R. 5837, Washington, 1921, p. 87 ff.*

⁶⁹ *The Educational Record, Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1921, "The Referendum on a Federal Department of Education."*

CHAPTER IV

PENDING LEGISLATION—THE STERLING-TOWNER BILL, S. 1252, H. R. 7.

The Sterling-Towner Bill is the most conspicuous and comprehensive educational measure that has been introduced into the Congress of the United States in recent decades. On all sides it is a current topic of discussion, and it has elicited a degree of interest hitherto unparalleled in the history of educational legislation in America.

The bill embodies two main features: first, the creation of a Department of Education, and secondly, federal appropriation of large sums of money in behalf of education in the States. It may be said to represent the concrete embodiment of the theory that education is a national problem, demanding national attention, that State action is insufficient, and that national participation in the work of education is a fundamental and imperative need.

While the demand for far-reaching collective action in education is not without a long historic development, it has become highly significant and has gained tremendous impetus since the World War. Never before have the unity and interdependence of American life been so vividly interpreted, and never before has the American conscience been so keenly aware of the relation of a community of ideals and aspirations to the national welfare. Due to the increasing complexity of social life, problems once deemed local and parochial are now being regarded in the light of a larger social vision. New needs have gradually developed, and the nation is being called upon to assume an important role in their solution. It is insisted that the individual is a citizen of the nation as well as of his State, and that since the welfare of the nation is so intimately linked with the welfare of the individual, the nation must co-operate in the development of its members to the fullness of their civic stature. To this end educational opportunities throughout the nation should be equalized; the civic intelligence of the citizens of South Carolina or Mississippi should not fall below the minimum standard of civic and social efficiency that might be set for the nation as a whole.

The war gave us a startling revelation of the deficiencies of American education. The foundations of democracy were declared in danger, and the conviction gained ground that something ought to be done, and done quickly. The first prerequisite to the drafting of a remedial measure was a study of the problems re-

vealed by the war. This task was shared by the Committee on Federal Legislation of the American Council on Education and by the Emergency Commission of the National Educational Association. The former Committee is the outgrowth of a special committee of the American Council on Education which was appointed at a meeting held in Washington January 30, 1918, and which resulted in the organization of the Emergency Council on Education.⁷⁰ At that time the special committee supported the Owen Bill for a Department of Education. The attitude of the committee was expressed in the following statement presented to Senator Smith of Georgia:

"While leaving to the States all the old measure of autonomy, in their own educational systems, it will be necessary to provide some central and general agency through which they may all express themselves in policies which are either national or international in scope. Since education is universally recognized as the first corollary of democracy, it seems incongruous that it should not be recognized as of equal rank in the councils of the nation with that accorded commerce, labor and agriculture.....

"Under the new conditions which the war has produced, the supreme importance of education to the country stands out more clearly than ever before. The great ideals which have always been in the minds of the people more or less in solution, need to be crystallized into definite form, and to become well defined directing motives in the national consciousness. In the absence of a state religion, the educational organization of the country must be the means of placing emphasis on the great moral and spiritual values which are ultimately the determining factors in a nation's history. By the enlightenment which it spreads and the emphasis which it places on the great moral laws, it can prove a large measure of salvation in a shifting social and economic order which we are inevitably facing at the end of the war.....

"The nation's ideals, consciously expressed in the lives of its people, determine its destiny. As Humbolt has said, 'What we desire in the government, we must put first into the minds of the people through the schools.'

"These are some of the considerations which seem to demand the recognition of education in the largest and most dignified way by the Government."⁷¹

While Senator Smith, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, was impressed with the committee's program, he maintained that a broader measure than the Owen

⁷⁰ *The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 91.

⁷¹ *Joint Hearings Before the Committees on Education and Labor, Congress of the United States, Sixty-sixth Session, on S. 1017, H. R. 7, July 22, 1919, Washington, 1920, p. 155.*

Bill was needed in order to win the support of Congress and to meet the demands of the existing emergency in education.⁷²

In February 1918 the National Education Association began to work for a new program of education. Two committees were appointed, one by the president of the National Education Association and one by the Department of Superintendence. These two committees were merged, and became the Joint Commission of the N.E.A. with George D. Strayer as Chairman. The first task of the commission was to initiate a study of the main defects of American education in the light of the revelations of the war. When the Joint Commission met in Washington in March 1918, the Committee of the Emergency Council submitted to the Committee on Resolutions of the Department of Superintendence a resolution supporting the plan for a Secretary of Education, but after consultation with Commissioner Claxton, the Committee on Resolutions decided not to submit to the convention the resolution calling for the department of education.⁷³ The committees of the Council and of the N.E.A. went on record in favor of a Secretary of Education in preference to a Board of Education, but when it was found that certain Senators would not favor a department unless it would be empowered to disburse large sums, it became evident that a measure calling for a department could not secure the unanimous support of higher education if it were to carry federal appropriations.⁷⁴ To obviate an impasse, the Joint Commission of the N.E.A., which refused to yield on the matter of the appropriation, and the American Council on Education, which opposed the so-called 50-50 principle of federal subsidy, were called upon to submit bills which would embody their respective views and from which Senator Smith might draft a compromise measure that might succeed in passing the Senate. The suggested compromise measure failed to materialize and the measure that Senator Smith decided to present was substantially the N.E.A. bill. The American Council found that it could not actively support the resolution as a whole, the opinion being that in the event of the creation of an educational department, "its higher intellectual functions must not be submerged by unduly magnified functions of the paymaster type."⁷⁵

The N.E.A. bill was prepared during the spring and summer of 1918, and was introduced into the Sixty-fifth Congress by Senator Hoke Smith in October, 1918, and by Representative Horace M. Towner on January 30, 1919. Between March 1919 and May 1919, the bill was revised and was reintroduced into the Sixty-

⁷² *Arguments Submitted*, etc., Pamphlet, American Council on Education, p. 2.

⁷³ *Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 92.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁷⁵ *The Educational Record*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 94-95.

sixth Congress in May 1919, the Educational Committee of the American Federation of Labor cooperating in the revision.⁷⁶ To meet certain objections against the May 1919 version of the bill, it was further amended, and, on January 17, 1921, the revised form was reported back to the House with the recommendation that the bill as amended be passed.⁷⁷

Failing to come to a vote in the 66th Congress, the measure was again introduced both in the House and Senate in April, 1921, upon the opening of the 67th Congress. Since Senator Smith did not resume his seat this session, his bill was sponsored by Senator Sterling. Once again the bill was carefully revised in an effort to allay the criticism that had arisen in regard to the last Smith-Towner version.

Provisions of the Bill

The purpose of the Sterling-Towner Bill as stated in the preamble is "to create a Department of Education, to authorize appropriations for the conduct of said department, to authorize the appropriation of money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes." The principal provisions of the bill are as follows:

1. A Department of Education is created with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet and an Assistant Secretary. (Sec. 1, 2).

2. The Bureau of Education is transferred to the Department of Education and the Congress is authorized to transfer to it such other offices, Bureaus and branches of the Government as in its judgment should be administered by the Department of Education. (Sec. 3).

3. It shall be the duty of the Department of Education to conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and report thereon. Research shall be undertaken in (a) illiteracy; (b) immigrant education; (c) public school education, and especially rural education; (d) physical education, including health education, recreation, and sanitation; (e) preparation and supply of competent teachers for the public schools; (f) higher education; and in such other fields as, in the judgment of the Secretary of Education require attention and study. The Secretary of Education is further empowered to make appointments, or recommendations of appointments, of educational attaches to foreign embassies. (Sec. 5).

4. \$500,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is appropriated annually for the purpose of paying salaries, conduct-

⁷⁶ Keith and Bagley, *The Nation and Schools*, New York, 1920, p. 142.

⁷⁷ *House of Representatives, Report No. 1201, 66th Congress, 3d Session, January 17, 1921.*

ing investigations, and paying expenses incidental to administration. (Sec. 6).

5. The following sums or as much thereof as may be necessary are appropriated for co-operation with the States:

- (a) \$7,500,000 is authorized to be appropriated for the instruction of illiterates fourteen years of age and over.
- (b) \$7,500,000 for the Americanization of immigrants.
- (c) \$50,000,000 for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, for providing better instruction and extending school terms, especially in rural localities. To avail itself of this provision, the State will maintain the following requirements as nearly as its constitutional provisions will permit:
 - (1) a legal school term of at least twenty-four weeks in each year;
 - (2) a compulsory school attendance law;
 - (3) a law requiring that the English language be the basic language of instruction in the common-school branches in all schools, public and private.
- (d) \$20,000 for the promotion of physical education.
- (e) \$15,000,000 for the preparation of teachers for public-school service, particularly in the rural (Secs. 7-11).

6. To secure the benefits of any one or more of the respective apportionments authorized in sections 7-11 inclusive of this Act, a State shall by legislative enactment accept the provisions of the Act, and designate the State's chief educational authority to represent said State in the administration of the Act. Moreover, the State must appropriate for the purposes of the Act a sum of money at least equally as large as the federal subvention in favor of said State. (Sec. 12).

7. The chief educational authority of each State must report annually to the Secretary of Education showing the work done in said State in carrying out the provisions of the Act. This Act, however, shall not be construed to imply Federal control of education within the States, nor to impair the freedom of the States in the conduct and management of their respective school systems. (Sec. 13).

8. A National Council on Education is created to consult and advise with the Secretary of Education on subjects relating to the promotion of education in the United States. (Sec. 17).

9. The Secretary of Education shall report annually to Congress giving an account of all moneys disbursed and received by the Department of Education, and describing the work done by the Department. He shall make such recommendations to Congress as will, in his judgment, improve public education in the United States. He shall also conduct such special investigations and reports as may be required of him by the President or by Congress. (Sec. 18).

10. All Acts or parts of Acts in conflict with this Act are repealed. (Sec. 19).

Revisions Arising From Adverse Criticism

As already mentioned, the Sterling-Towner (Smith-Towner) Bill has assumed many forms. Aware of the amount of criticism directed against the bill, its authors have rewritten the measure on several occasions, and have modified or clarified the provisions which were so vigorously opposed.

The results of the opposition may be summarized as follows:

1. In an effort to disarm the many critics of the bill who have been insisting that its operation involves Federal control of the educational activities of the States, the version of April, 1921, states in clear language that "all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this Act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted State and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto; and this Act shall not be construed to imply Federal control of education within the States, nor to impair the freedom of the States in the conduct and management of their respective school systems." (Sec. 13).

2. Under the early forms of the bill, the President was empowered to transfer to the Department of Education such offices, boards, bureaus, or branches of the Government, the functions of which should in his judgment be controlled or exercised by the Department. It was objected that this was not properly a matter for presidential decision.⁷⁸ The amended bill reposes this power in Congress. The wisdom of the change is evident, since at present a joint committee of the Senate and House is at work upon a plan to reorganize and consolidate the various administrative branches of the Government. For this reason, the Congress should be in a position to follow out the recommendations of the committee on reorganization.

3. The earlier forms of the bill carried a definite appropria-

⁷⁸ Capen, Samuel P., *The Educational Review*, Nov., 1920, "Arguments against the Smith-Towner Bill."

tion of \$100,000,000 for co-operation with the States. Of this total definite apportionments were made for the special purposes of the Act. A set sum of \$7,500,000, for example, was authorized for the removal of illiteracy; a corresponding amount was authorized for Americanization, and so on. Capen among others insisted that the annual appropriation of \$100,000,000 was a thoroughly arbitrary sum; "no reliable data are at hand to indicate that just this amount is needed to accomplish the purposes specified in the bill. Its very roundness indicates that it is a guess. . . . Assuming that the federal government should grant aid in large amounts for education in the States, the actual need of each phase of education to be subsidized should be determined in advance on the basis of careful study."⁷⁹ In an effort to meet this and kindred objections, the latest revision modifies the appropriation clauses by adding to each of the sums authorized in the bill, the words, "or so much thereof as may be necessary." In this way, it is made plain that the figures given in the bill represent merely the upper limit of the amount that may be expended under the Act; in other words, the revision emphasizes the possibility that the entire appropriation may not be required to carry out the purposes of the Act. Obviously, this change is of little practical importance.

4. Certain opponents of the earlier versions maintained that as far as some of the States were concerned, several of the provisions of the measure would prove superfluous. The present bill makes it clear that a given State need not apply for aid under all of the respective apportionments authorized in the bill. It may therefore defer the acceptance of any one or more of the apportionments.

5. An entirely new feature of the latest revision is Section 17, which provides for the creation of a "National Council on Education on subjects relating to the promotion and development of education in the United States." This section further states: "The Secretary of Education shall be chairman of said council, which shall be constituted as follows: (a) The chief educational authority of each State designated to represent said State in the administration of this Act; (b) not to exceed twenty-five educators representing the different interests in education, to be appointed annually by the Secretary of Education; (c) not to exceed twenty-five persons, not educators, interested in the results of education from the standpoint of the public, to be appointed annually by the Secretary of Education."

Doubtless there were many reasons which prompted the sponsors of the bill to include this provision in the latest revision.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Fearing one man rule in the Department of Education, many educators maintained that the policies of the proposed Department should be decided by an ex-officio board, or by a national commission, composed of men from various parts of the country. How far this modification of the bill tends to conciliate opposition may be open to doubt; but it will most probably be admitted that this new provision adds a decided element of strength to the bill as a whole.

From the above paragraphs, it can be seen that the opposition to the measure has resulted in a number of changes and clarifications in its provisions. It is quite probable that continued examination of the bill will result in further modifications. In the pages that follow, reference will be to the Sterling-Towner Bill as introduced in the House and Senate, April, 1921.

Arguments in Support of the Bill

1. The Sterling-Towner Bill dignifies education by creating a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet. Education is an essential corollary of democracy; it is therefore of the most utmost importance that it be represented in the councils of the nation. The proposed Department would unify and co-ordinate the various educational enterprises of the Federal Government, and afford national leadership in the movement for better schools. In addition, the Department would perform an important function in promoting research and in investigating the educational needs of the nation. In the event of its creation, it would put education on the same plane with commerce and agriculture in establishing the general policies of the nation. According to Bagley, it will be needed "to represent the people and the Government of the United States in the solution of international educational problems,"⁸⁰ and to quote Spaulding, the development of a plan of education adequate to national needs "demands the establishment of a Department of Education in the national government. . . . In two-score governments, all over the world, there is found a Department, or Ministry, of Education, or Public Instruction. America is distinguished as the one important nation of the world that fails to recognize education as one of the great national fundamental interests and responsibilities."⁸¹ In no other way, it is held, could the influence and prestige of education be so notably enhanced.

The advocates of the Department insist that in the work of co-ordinating and integrating the educational forces of the Nation, leadership and not law must be the potent force; with this as a

⁸⁰ Bagley, W. C., *Discussion*, Department of Superintendence, N. E. A., Feb., 1920.

⁸¹ Spaulding, F. E., *The Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1920.

guiding principle, a method of solving the Nation's educational problems would come most readily, "*and yet not so readily that the Secretary of Education would become in any sense an educational dictator.*"⁸² The authority invested in the Secretary of Education is "for the single purpose of safeguarding the national interest in having the subventions provided in the bill administered honestly. Anything less is unthinkable: anything more is unwise."⁸³

While there has been considerable hesitation in some quarters to support a program that would make the nation's chief educational officer a political appointee, the friends of the bill insist that education cannot escape politics and that "the sooner the great questions of education are placed squarely before the people, the sooner the problems of the school will reach a satisfactory solution; and the only way to place these questions before the people is to make them incisive political issues. To establish a Federal Department of Education would undoubtedly do more to keep education out of politics in the wrong sense and in politics in the right sense than could any other measure that the people can take."⁸⁴

2. The Sterling-Towner Bill perpetuates on a large scale the principle of federal subsidies for educational purposes. This provision has been severely criticized by opponents of the measure, and in view of the prejudice against federal appropriations in aid of the States, the supporters of the bill have labored diligently in marshalling their arguments in behalf of the subsidy principle.

The main reason for the federal subventions provided in the bill is to equalize educational opportunities for all the children of the nation. The bill "assumes the existence of a national consciousness; that under a common flag all Americans are citizens of a common country; that the duties and privileges of American citizenship are not affected by State boundaries; that because of the facilities for intercourse between the States, each must inevitably share in the strength or weakness of all; that whatever tends to elevate and strengthen the citizenship of any State promotes the welfare of the entire country; and that any disorder or weakness in a State or community detracts from the general health and security of the nation."⁸⁵ Granting these principles, Strayer finds it hard to understand "how one can accept the fundamental democratic idea of equality of opportunity and at the same time argue against federal aid for education. It is a fact that one State has six times the wealth per unit of population that another State has.

⁸² Keith and Bagley, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-298.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁸⁴ Bagley, W. C., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁸⁵ Magill, H. S., *The Educational Review*, Nov., 1920.

If equality of opportunity is to be provided, equality in the burden of taxation which is to be borne should prevail. It is manifestly unfair to suggest that the type of education which the country needs for all of its children shall involve six times as heavy a burden for one group of citizens as for another. It is a sound doctrine which proposes that the wealth of the nation be put back of the education of all of its children."⁸⁶

It is contended that equality of educational opportunity does not exist to-day within a single one of our States,⁸⁷ and that the only method by which the Federal Government can promote the general welfare through education is by providing a group of continuing subventions.⁸⁸ A serious drag on progress in this direction lies in the fact that public opinion has not yet come to appreciate our educational interdependence. *"The old notion of education as an individual advantage rather than a national asset and necessity still persists."*⁸⁹ The war, however, emphasized the relation of the individual to the Nation, and "every sign to-day points to the ever-increasing primacy of the national factor."⁹⁰

It is held that the history of federal aid to the States offers abundant precedent for the measure. From the earliest days of the Republic to the present, not a single adverse court decision has challenged the constitutionality of federal aid for education.⁹¹ Co-operation on the part of the Government with the States under the Sterling-Towner Bill therefore is to be regarded simply as one step farther along already accepted lines, and is held to be the logical culmination of the traditional policy of the Nation.

3. The bill proposes to eliminate illiteracy, appropriating up to \$7,500,000 for that purpose. According to Sec. 7, this sum is to be apportioned to the States "in the proportions which their respective illiterate populations fourteen years of age and over, not including foreign-born illiterates, bear to such total illiterate population of the United States, not including outlying possessions, according to the last preceding census of the United States."

According to the decennial census of 1910, the total number of illiterate persons of ten years of age and over included 3,748,031 rural illiterates, and 1,768,132 urban illiterates. It has been found that for the native whites, adult illiteracy is six times more prevalent in rural America than in urban America; from this it is concluded that the rural school has failed to reach the rural children in the measure that the safety and progress of the Nation

⁸⁶ Strayer, George D., *Educational Review*, Nov., 1920.

⁸⁷ Keith and Bagley, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

demand.⁹² It is held that we have succeeded more than three times as well with the children of the immigrant than with the children of the native-born, and that illiteracy is predominantly a rural problem.⁹³

The problem is not limited to absolute illiteracy. The army tests, for instance, "revealed the fact that practically *one man out of every four* (24.9%) was unable to meet the relatively simple test of intelligent reading and intelligible writing."⁹⁴ To remedy this state of affairs it is contended that nothing short of Federal co-operation will suffice.

4. Closely allied to the menace of illiteracy is the Americanization problem. The same reasons that inspired the Kenyon and other Americanization Bills may be said to exist in regard to the Americanization clause of the Sterling-Towner Bill. Among educators and statesmen the feeling is widespread that the Nation must not rest content with bestowing American liberties to the newcomers to our shores, but must make them realize their duties and responsibilities toward the land of their adoption. According to the census of 1910, the foreign-born population of the United States numbered 13,515,886. To develop in this vast number an understanding and appreciation of American ideals is regarded as essential to the national welfare and as a blessing to the immigrants themselves. Without an Americanization program rightly conceived and administered, it is maintained that the immigrant cannot be assimilated and incorporated into the social and political life of the Nation. Weight is added to the argument for Americanization when it is realized that the source of recent immigration has been the South and East of Europe, regions in which public education is supposedly negligible, and in which there exist social and political ideals so different from our own as to complicate the problem of handling the new immigration.⁹⁵

5. The bill apportions \$50,000,000, or as much thereof as may be required, for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities. This sum is to be used for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, for providing better instruction and extending school terms, especially in rural schools, and otherwise providing equally good educational opportunities for the children in the several States and for the extension and adaptation of public libraries for educational purposes.

During the school year 1915-16, the average annual salary of all teachers in the United States was \$563.08; in Mississippi the

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 192-194.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

lowest average annual salary, or \$233.64 was paid, while the highest average annual salary, or \$999.84 was paid in the District of Columbia. California held second place with \$998.45.⁹⁶ As a natural consequence of the inequitable compensation of teachers throughout the country, many of the ablest teachers have abandoned the profession for more lucrative positions, and the schools of the country have been obliged to employ untrained and inferior teachers, or to accept the unfortunate alternative of permitting vacancies to exist. From this it appears obvious that until all the schools both rural and urban are taught by properly equipped, decently paid teaching staffs, the cause of education must inevitably suffer a distinct loss.

There has been correspondingly a considerable difference in the length of school terms in the various States. In some communities the child enters a veritable palace in which well-trained teachers conduct classes under the most auspicious conditions, while in other sections, the child is bound to attend school in an inferior, poorly ventilated or ill-lighted structure, presided over by a comparatively untrained teacher during a brief school year. That such inequalities exist is traceable to the variations in the taxable wealth in the several States. According to a recent study, the wealth *per capita* varies from \$669.36 in Mississippi to \$4,135.35 in Nevada, and the "taxable wealth behind each person of school age varies from \$2,026.01 in Mississippi to \$27,360.70 in Nevada, with an average of \$6,296.55 for the entire country. California can raise \$30.00 for the education of each person of school age by a millage one-seventh as large as is necessary in Mississippi to raise the same amount."⁹⁷

To correct these manifest inequalities of educational opportunity federal aid is regarded as imperative. If the proposed legislation is passed, it is promised that all schools will be made "equally good in all fundamental matters, not by lowering the standards of the best schools, but by raising those of the poor and mediocre schools."⁹⁸

6. The bill incorporates also a provision for physical education and instruction in the principles of health and sanitation, the appropriation authorized for this purpose being \$20,000,000. It is held that the report of the medical examinations under the Selective Service Act, as well as the data based on health inspection in the schools, yield abundant commentary on the need of physical and health education in all the schools of the Nation. This clause is designed to compass practically the same ends as the Capper

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Bill, S. 416. The most conspicuous difference between the physical education clause of this bill and the Capper Bill is that the provisions of the latter are more specific and more carefully defined.

7. Another feature of the bill is the appropriation authorizing \$15,000,000 "to provide and extend facilities for the improvement of teachers already in service and for the more adequate preparation of prospective teachers, and to provide an increased number of trained and competent teachers by encouraging, through the establishment of scholarships and otherwise, a greater number of talented young people to make adequate preparation for public-school service."

The untrained teacher is generally looked upon as the most serious defect in public education. According to a Bulletin issued in 1916 by the United States Bureau of Education, "the United States does less to train its teachers than any other great civilized nation."⁹⁹ Of recent years it has been quite generally believed that teaching is nothing more or less than a transitory occupation, and accordingly it has not been regarded in a manner befitting its real dignity as a professional service. All the statistics that are available show that the teacher shortage is serious, and worse still, that the normal school enrollment has fallen off appreciably. In Connecticut, for instance, there were 597 students enrolled in the normal schools of the State in 1900; whereas in 1920 there were but 465.¹⁰⁰

Reporting the teacher shortage in the United States on the basis of data obtained since September 1, 1920, the National Educational Association estimates that the combined number of vacancies and of teachers below standard throughout the country is 92,949.¹⁰¹ Pennsylvania is reported to have 727 vacancies and 1646 teachers below standard; Alabama, 979 vacancies and 1230 teachers below standard.¹⁰² From these and similar reports, the teacher situation is regarded as little short of menacing and as involving the most serious consequences. The prompt enactment of the Sterling-Towner Bill, it is believed, would aid greatly in the solution of this problem.

8. The foregoing paragraphs summarize the main arguments advanced in behalf of the Sterling-Towner Bill. The friends of the measure insist that it is the only kind of a measure that can properly meet the existing emergency in education; upon it depends the future of our schools and the progress and prosperity

⁹⁹ Judd and Parker, *Problems Involved in Standardizing State Normal Schools*, Bulletin, 1916, No. 12, U. S. Bur. Ed., p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ *School Life*, Vol. V, No. 9, Nov. 1, 1920.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 10, Nov. 15, 1920.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

of our democratic institutions. In brief, the American school cannot be content to revert to its pre-war status; American education must be overhauled and reorganized if it is to meet the present problems of democracy.

The bill has deeply impressed the public mind, and it is gathering support not only from the professional educator but also from a large array of social and civic organizations. Never before has an educational measure had so many enthusiastic and ardent supporters.

Arguments Against the Bill

1. The chief argument against the establishment of a Department of Education is based on the fear that the Federal Government would dominate education throughout the country. President Hadley of Yale views the bill "as a long step in the Prussianizing of American education," and regards the introduction of another cabinet minister "as calculated to weaken rather than strengthen the influence of the Cabinet."¹⁰³ He insists, moreover, that "the concentration of educational supervision in a national capital has always worked badly, and there is no reason to suppose that the United States would prove an exception to this general rule. French education when controlled from Paris has tended to ossify, and only as they have given independence to different parts of the system has there been progress made. All the pieces of progress of the last century were done in opposition to the national incubus of a centralized bureau."¹⁰⁴ Likewise Capen believes that under the bill the federal government would gradually and inevitably come to exercise a very large measure of dictation and control, and that federal control of local educational activities secured and perpetuated by the tacit threat of withholding federal grants would be intolerable.¹⁰⁵

While the bill explicitly states that federal control of education in the States is not to prevail under the Act, Dean Burris holds that it is there in spite of all efforts to disguise it, and that no such national program for education as that contemplated in the bill could be carried out without a large measure of federal control both direct and indirect. If this control is vested in a Cabinet officer, it will be inevitably exposed to partisan influences. Besides, the presence of a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet is neither imperative nor desirable. For the proposed Department of Education a Federal Board of Education would be preferable. Under such a board, he maintains, continuity in the development

¹⁰³ *The Educational Record*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 105.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *The Educational Review*, Nov., 1920, p. 287.

of well thought out policies would be assured, and the dangers arising from patronage in the appointment of assistants would be prevented.¹⁰⁶

Federal control over education is at once unconstitutional and undesirable, adds Burris; and in the words of former Senator Root it "calls for the exercise of power by the Federal Government which has not been committed to that Government by the people of the United States in their Constitution, but has been reserved to the several States. It seems equally clear that no such power ought to be committed to the Government, because it would be absolutely inconsistent with one of the two primary purposes of our system of Government, that is to say, preservation of the right of local self-government in the States, at the same time with the maintenance of National power."¹⁰⁷ According to Professor Guthrie of Columbia, the provisions of the bill would "inevitably involve an attempt at interference in the local affairs of the States, and the policy of so-called federalization of education once established would lead to an agitation and demand for a constitutional amendment to vest adequate power of centralized supervision and control in Congress."¹⁰⁸ In this way, believes Burris, the influence now working for the beginning of a program of centralization would ultimately destroy the "very substance of Americanism, which is individualism, self-reliance, initiative, and responsibility."¹⁰⁹

2. It is pointed out by Capen that the bill fails to co-ordinate the present educational activities of the Federal Government; it lays no satisfactory foundations since it "dodges the whole question of the co-ordination and simplification of the government's present educational activities.....It is easily possible to determine on the basis of some defensible principle which existing government offices belong in a department with functions such as those of the proposed Department of Education. In failing to indicate which these are, the framers and sponsors of the bill have not faced the primary obligation of their task."¹¹⁰ It is especially noted that the bill fails to include the Federal Board for Vocational Education under the Department of Education. It is conceded by most educators that vocational education should be related organically to the rest of the Government's educational work; the attempt to separate it from general education in States and cities has been disastrous.¹¹¹ Granting, however, that the Federal Board

¹⁰⁶ Burris, W. P., Address, *A Federal Department of Education*, Department of Superintendence, N. E. A., February 26, 1920.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Bulletin*, The Catholic Educational Association, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1920.

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ *The Educational Review*, Nov., 1920, pp. 286-287.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

is brought under the Department as authorized by Section 3 of the Act, an anomalous situation would ensue, because the Smith-Hughes Act admits supervision of education within the States, while the Sterling-Towner Bill denies such supervision.¹¹²

In the two-fold character of the measure, moreover, there is believed to exist a misalliance; it is held that the Department of Education and the relief measure are two different and in some respects conflicting propositions; and "to promote the subsidy feature the unification of the government's educational activities was sacrificed."¹¹³

3. While the friends of the bill believe that the measure would not involve partisan politics in the appointment of a Secretary of Education, the opponents of the bill are not so optimistic.

In the recent volume, "The Nation and the Schools," by Keith and Bagley, we read: "It is said that a President would probably appoint as Secretary of Education a member of his own political party. . . . This assertion is not true with respect to those who have served as Commissioners of Education. . . . It is reasonable to assume that the President would honestly desire to find the most capable man for the Secretaryship of Education and that he would make every possible effort to find such a man without making previous partisan service a prerequisite for appointment. With this reasonable assurance, the party affiliation of the person appointed becomes insignificant."¹¹⁴

The high hopes expressed in the lines just quoted were given a severe jolt by the action of President Harding in removing U. S. Commissioner Claxton. To the friends of education everywhere, this action was especially unwelcome. Speaking editorially in the June, 1921, issue of the "Journal of the National Education Association," Bagley complained: "It is most unfortunate that a change should be made at this time when the need for recognized national leadership in education is imperative. It is certain to be construed as having been determined by political motives and in total disregard of the growing demand for the elevation of the Nation's chief educational office." Similarly, the "Educational Review" in its issue of September, 1921, commented that Commissioner Claxton's successor "would probably never have been selected by a body of experts or of impartial lay citizens, and the removal of Dr. Claxton seems to have been somewhat impelled by political motives, which should everywhere be eliminated from education."

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

¹¹⁴ p. 306.

This incident has convinced many of the opponents of the Sterling-Towner Bill that unless the measure is defeated, we shall witness the inauguration at Washington of a vast politico-educational machine, and that instead of attaining higher dignity in the councils of the nation, education may inherit the taint of sordid partisan politics.

4. The principal of federal subsidy as provided in the bill likewise meets with strong disapproval. Capen regards it as an accidental discovery rather than the result of careful investigation.¹¹⁵ The principle of federal subsidy is still on trial and its universal validity is by no means proved; again, it appears "not to differentiate between Federal stimulation of new educational movements and Federal support of the general educational enterprise of the States."¹¹⁶ Basing his observations upon the operation of previous laws involving the principle of federal subventions, Mann contends that the distribution of \$100,000,000 on the fifty-fifty principle would be a fatal blunder for educational progress in the country.¹¹⁷ It is also emphasized that the Federal education office should exercise its leadership by means of ideas, and that when adequately equipped to investigate educational conditions, to point out defects and recommend improvements, it would accomplish everything that is sought by large federal appropriations.¹¹⁸ It is pointed out that the result would be more wholesome were the State to undertake measures for their own improvement rather than have improvement thrust upon them; the dollar for dollar appropriations are in principle not far removed from bribery.¹¹⁹

Judd observes that "the popular mind seems prone to accept the assumption that the Federal Government can with propriety undertake everything and anything. The most insidious form of this popular superstition is the widespread belief that the Federal Government has unlimited financial resources upon which it is entirely legitimate to draw for any worthy purpose which is otherwise likely to become insolvent."¹²⁰ There are no grounds for the assumption that financial support as provided in the Sterling-Towner Bill is the duty of the Federal Government or that it will operate to raise educational standards; it is believed, moreover,

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹¹⁶ *The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ *The Educational Review*, Nov., 1920, p. 313.

¹¹⁸ *Pamphlet*, American Council on Education, "Arguments Submitted, etc." p. 6.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *The Educational Record*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

Note: In an address delivered at the installation of David Kinley as President of the University of Illinois, Dec. 1, 1921, President W. O. Thompson of Ohio State University declared that if the view prevails that education is a national issue, we may expect that "national revenues will be increasingly used and that the problems of the relations between national and state agencies will increase in importance."

that there is more danger than benefit in Federal appropriations without Federal supervision.¹²¹

While many of the arguments advanced against the subsidy principle might be regarded as speculative merely, the lessons of experience are available, and point clearly to the weakness of federal subsidy. The Federal Constitution of Switzerland, for example, includes an amendment authorizing the Government to grant subventions to schools in the cantons. In Switzerland, this policy has not been generally approved; upon consultation with leading Swiss authorities, Bryce found that it was regarded as a fault in the Swiss system. Says Bryce:

"The plan of granting subventions from the national treasury to the cantons is alleged to be wasteful, injurious to the cantons in impairing self-helpfulness, and liable to be perverted for political purposes. The dominant party can, it is said, strengthen itself by these gifts, and bring a small canton too much under Federal influence. Against this it is argued that the power of withholding a subvention is an engine for securing the enforcement of Federal law by a canton disposed to be in subordinate. No great mischief has resulted so far, but the practice has its risks. Local subsidies have been lavishly bestowed, and misused for political ends, in the United States and in Canada."¹²²

Again, in the experience of our own country, the subsidy principle has shown its weakness. We have at present laws authorizing federal co-operation with the States in the building of roads. To guard against abuses arising from this policy, President Harding in his message of April 12, 1921, insisted that "large federal outlay demands a federal program of expenditure. . . . The laws governing federal aid should be amended and strengthened. The federal agency of administration should be elevated to the importance and vested with the authority comparable to the work before it. And Congress ought to prescribe conditions to federal appropriations which will necessitate a consistent program of uniformity which will justify the federal outlay."

Federal aid for road-building operations is undoubtedly advisable and in accord with the Constitution; and to insure that the Federal apportionments are wisely expended, a policy of Federal control is necessary. The extension of such control over education, however, would be highly detrimental to the best interests of the country, and would be clearly unconstitutional.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Bryce, James, *Modern Democracies*, New York, 1921, Vol. I, p. 367.

Experience to date, therefore, both at home and abroad, can scarcely be said to favor further extension of the subsidy principle in education.

Finally, objection to the \$100,000,000 appropriation is made on economic grounds. Blakely holds that common honesty justifies opposition to it on the ground of its excessive cost at a time when the country is suffering from serious financial burdens resulting from the war.¹²³ Former President Hadley of Yale objects on kindred grounds, believing that the present is a singularly inopportune time for increased national expense at Washington, and that the adverse effect of the bill economically would greatly outweigh any possible good that might be derived.¹²⁴ It has been urged also that the determination of the purpose for which the appropriation should be spent is too far removed from the people who are taxed for the expenditure.¹²⁵

5. Another argument which has been advanced by the opponents of the Sterling-Towner Bill is that it is a direct attack upon the principle of local self-government; it imperils State sovereignty and may give rise to paternalism and bureaucracy. It is stated that "bureaucratic control is the almost inevitable consequence of large Federal subsidies devoted to any kind of undertaking," and that "however carefully the appropriating act may be drawn to preserve local autonomy and prevent undue Federal influence there is finally in the hands of the Federal office administering the subsidies great coercive power."¹²⁶ Addressing the United States Senate May 22, 1920, Senator King declared that there is "a propaganda nation wide, to further weaken the States by transferring to the Federal Government the duty and responsibility resting upon the States of educating all within their borders. It is unquestionably the attribute of a sovereign State to provide the educational system for its inhabitants. It is an invasion of the rights of the States to have some other Government superimpose its educational system upon the people therein or control in any manner the action of such State in relation to the subject."¹²⁷ Likewise, Senator Thomas in addressing the Senate said that he was "profoundly convinced that one of the things that the States reserved to themselves and which is essential to their integrity and to the integrity of the cause of local self-government is their continued retention of jurisdiction over the education of the people within their borders."¹²⁸ Hence it is argued that accord-

¹²³ Blakely, P. L., Pamphlet, *The Case Against the Smith-Towner Bill*, New York, 1920.

¹²⁴ *The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 3.

¹²⁵ Pamphlet, American Council on Education, "Arguments Submitted, etc." p. 6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹²⁷ *Congressional Record*, May 22, 1920.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1919.

ingly as the tendency to give up home rule in education is realized in the various communities and States, local interest in education will correspondingly wane.

Impressed therefore with the possible effect of the bill upon local control, educational authorities within many of the States have been studying the measure in its bearing upon their respective States. In a report to Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York State, July 19, 1919, submitted by Dr. Augustus S. Downing, the assistant commissioner of education, after conference with President John H. Finley of the University of the State of New York, it is concluded among other things (1) that the bill would add a serious burden of taxation to the inhabitants of the State without just reason; (2) that the State of New York has taken the lead in the fields encouraged by the bill, and that so far as the State of New York is concerned, its provisions are not needed; (3) that judging from the experience of the State of New York which expends approximately \$80,000,000 annually for the support of public education (which sum represents an increase of 33 1-3% within recent years) that the \$100,000,000 for the entire country provided in the bill would prove only a pittance of the amount that would be actually required and demanded by the States that would take advantage of the paternalism thus offered them; (4) that the introduction of the bill at this time is inopportune and its passage is clearly not desirable.

In a Memorandum subjoined to Dr. Downing's report, the following facts are pointed out:

"In 1918 New York paid 37% of the Income Tax of the Country. In 1917 New York paid 25% of the Expenditures of Government. Upon the later basis New York Citizens would pay for centralized education at least \$25,000,000. Under the most liberal calculation, New York would receive under the proposed legislation less than \$10,000,000."

According to the Memorandum, the total educational appropriation of the State of New York for 1919 is \$17,430,000 and under the proposed bill, *"the additional moneys to New York would be surplusage, at the very disproportionate share in the expense of obtaining it."* It further states that under the terms of the measure South Carolina would pay \$228,000 and benefit to the extent of \$1,755,000; Mississippi would pay \$143,000 and benefit to the extent of \$2,115,000. The following twelve States, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia would collectively pay \$7,237,000 and benefit to the extent of \$25,424,000.

It is maintained, therefore, that there is no demand for federal legislation from the States that have been progressive. The demand originates from the States that have failed in compulsory education, or that seek to obtain "pork" at the expense of the richer States. The Memorandum concludes that "the local communities of New York will in the end pay the bill and the work will not be done as well as if done by those concerned."

CHAPTER V

THE RELATION OF THE FEDERALIZATION MOVEMENT TO DEMOCRACY

From the analysis of pending federal legislation given in the two preceding chapters, it must appear evident that the present drift in American life constitutes a significant departure from the traditional policies of the nation, and reflects a strong tendency to obscure the boundaries of the States and to assert more and more the primacy of the nation.

The success of the American arms in battle was due in large measure to the rapid mobilization of the material and spiritual resources of the nation. To achieve victory, the American people willingly submitted to a highly centralized system of control and gladly surrendered their wonted liberties which hitherto they had religiously guarded against the aggression of autocratic power. With the cessation of hostilities, it was to be expected that America would strive to revert to a pre-war status, and gradually restore the liberties appropriate to a democratic commonwealth. This, however, proved not to be the case. It appeared in fact that we were wilfully prohibiting their normal and natural restoration.¹²⁹ Not a few were impressed with the achievements of centralized leadership and control, and hence a considerable effort was put forth to perpetuate the system which served the common cause so admirably in time of stress. Bureaucratic control proved advantageous in time of war, it was alleged; therefore, it is no less desirable in time of peace. This fallacy was not without its appeal; and its logical correlate was embodied in the formula that a democracy cannot thrive without a maximum of social control. All too frequently it was forgotten that war is an utterly abnormal situation and that much of what is appropriate and needful in war times is inapplicable, harmful and even pernicious in peace times.¹³⁰

The current federalization tendency is the reflection of a social and political philosophy whose legitimate fruition is socialization on an ever-increasing scale. It is maintained that "the most outstanding lesson of the world-war is that the shibboleth of individual liberty which so long held us in thrall is no longer sufficient. . . . Everywhere in our increasingly complex and interdependent society the ideal of socialization is taking its place.

¹²⁹ Addams, Jane, *Papers and Proceedings American Sociological Society*, Vol. XIV, Chicago, 1919, p. 212.

¹³⁰ Kahn, Otto H., *The Menace of Paternalism*, Address, Convention of the American Bankers Association, Chicago, 1918, p. 84.

With reference to education we are realizing that intelligence alone can be trusted to maintain and improve our social heritage and hence the question of education can no longer be regarded as an individual matter but must be accepted as a social responsibility. The nation should see to it that every child has not merely the opportunity to get whatever educational training he is able to assimilate but that he be compelled to take it. Compulsory school laws must be made universal and more effective than they have been in the past. No State can safely be permitted on the basis of State control to stand in the way of progress and national safety by allowing its children to grow up in ignorance. Our next step should be to modify it (the doctrine of State rights) in the field of education by centralizing control in the federal government so that we can mobilize our educational forces and make an efficient education a universal democratic birthright."¹³¹

The preceding sentences convey the thoughts of Professor Walter R. Smith of the University of Kansas and they may be said to embody succinctly the philosophy of the centralization movement as it expresses itself educationally. This movement, however, has not gone unchallenged. Opposing it stands an influential school of thinkers, who with President Butler believe that "the cornerstone of American government and of American life is the civil liberty of the individual citizen. Ours is not a government of absolute or plenary power before whose exercise the individual must bow his head in humble acquiescence. The most pressing question that now confronts the American people, the question that underlies and conditions all problems of reconstruction and advance as we pass from war conditions to the normal times of peace, is whether we shall go forward by preserving those American principles and American traditions that have already served us so well, or whether we shall abandon those principles and substitute for them a State built not upon the civil liberty of the individual, but upon the plenary power of organized government."¹³²

It is pointed out by Cubberley and Elliot that the growth of democracy has resulted in a remarkable extension of the functions of the State,¹³³ and, according to Chancellor, there is apparently no limit to what the democratic State in our land may yet undertake.¹³⁴ From the expansion of State function to the increase of federal function there appears a ready transition; and

¹³¹ Smith, W. R., *Papers and Proceedings*, American Sociological Society, Vol. XIV, Chicago, 1919.

¹³² Butler, N. M., *Address*, "Is America Worth Saving?" delivered before Commercial Club of Cincinnati, Ohio, April 19, 1919.

¹³³ Cubberley and Elliott, *State and County School Administration*, Vol. II, New York, 1915, p. 3.

¹³⁴ Chancellor, W. E., *Educational Sociology*, New York, 1919, p. 243.

advocates of socialization regard it as an inherently democratic procedure. On the other hand, there are those, who, with President Butler, regard as undemocratic any movement that tends to weaken the principle of local control and transfer the burdens of the States to the Federal Government.

Not all of the educational bills discussed in Chapters III and IV explicitly provide for a large measure of federal control, yet several of the resolutions, as we have seen, are plainly calculated to achieve national leadership, direction, and control. National control and federalization of education is the unmistakable tendency in the current legislation of Congress. To meet the contention that this procedure is the summation of a desirable and far-reaching democratic movement, it is well to study carefully whether or not the federalization movement is democratic in spirit and conducive to the highest good of the American people. As has been previously stated, the prevailing test of our institutions is their measure of service to democracy; and surely no less a test should be applied to the contemplated legislation which, if enacted and made a part of the organic law of the land, is destined to exert an important influence upon the future of our institutions and the quality of our national life.

The Nature of Democracy

Before a critical judgment can be made on the relation of the federalization movement in education to democracy, it should prove helpful to pause for a moment to consider the meaning of democracy. Unless some concept of the nature of democracy is accepted as a working hypothesis, it is obvious that any valuations based on the grounds of democracy cannot escape being superficial and elusive. Even where there exists substantial agreement as to the nature of democracy, its legitimate implications educationally are far from being clear.

With regard to the meaning of *political* democracy, there is little ground for disagreement. According to Bryce, "the word Democracy has been used ever since the time of Herodotus to denote that form of government in which the ruling power of a State is legally vested, not in any particular class or classes, but in the members of a community as a whole. This means, in communities which act by voting, that rule belongs to the majority, as no other method has been found for determining peaceably and legally what is deemed to be the will of a community which is not unanimous. Usage has made this the accepted sense of the term."¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Bryce, James, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 20.

This definition amply satisfies the demands of the political scientist, but when it is remembered that in the actual work of education, not merely civic but social efficiency is the goal, the educator has reason to insist that the school is interested not only in training the youth of the nation for intelligent participation in the political life of the nation, but also in its wider social activities. When we speak, therefore, of education for democracy, we mean that education which equips the individual to realize and perform his duties not only as a citizen of our country, but also as a sharer in the wider range of moral and social interests and attitudes, without which political democracy can scarcely hope to survive.

Clearly enough, then, education designed to promote democracy in its widest sense, will not only foster civic efficiency in the youth of the land, but will tend to afford that aim a wider moral and social basis.

Already the peoples of progressive countries have achieved a palpable measure of political democracy. For the most part, the vision of democracy halts there; and while the tendency of labor at present is to repulse autocratic industry, economic democracy represents rather an aspiration than an achievement. Beyond the realm of government, therefore, democracy is fundamentally an aspiration, and in most minds it sublimates into a highly ideal conception.

A very deep-rooted fallacy concerning democracy consists in the belief that equality is essential to democracy. This prejudice is widespread and finds ample expression in current literature. Nearly a century ago De Tocqueville found it fundamental in our conception of democracy: his impression was that Americans are so enamored of equality that they would rather be equal in slavery than unequal in freedom.¹³⁶ Mecklin holds that while equality is preached as the goal of democratic strivings, and the test of institutions is seen in the extent to which they assure equality, in reality it is "not ultimate even in a democracy. It will always remain more or less a fiction. Nature and heredity have weighted the scales against it. At best, equality is a social program for the control and utilization of the inequalities that are inevitable and even necessary to a progressive society. For progress demands inequality as well as equality."¹³⁷

The dictum that all men are born equal is not true in an organic sense; applied to sentient beings equality is a misnomer.¹³⁸ With President Butler, Smith agrees that "nature knows no such thing as equality;" there is, however, "an eternal tendency toward the equilibration of the forces of nature and of life. In organized

¹³⁶Mecklin, John M., *An Introduction to Social Ethics*, New York, 1920, p. 4.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³⁸Smith, W. R., *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, Boston, 1917, p. 160.

society this takes the form of securing for each individual and each class comparatively equal rights, privileges and opportunities to make the most of whatever possibilities nature or circumstances have provided."¹³⁹

Education, therefore, is an unfortunate example for the advocates of equality of opportunity; they would be more consistent if they demanded unequal opportunity, since that would make the most rather than the least of those who are inferior.¹⁴⁰ In addition, it would afford the highest possible opportunities for the nation's future leadership. It seems evident then that the opportunities in the school should be as unequal as the persons and their future vocations.¹⁴¹ President Hall regards the uniformity of treatment of pupils which prevails in the schools as arising from an over-developed idea of democracy; all are born free and equal, hence all must be treated alike.¹⁴² To repeat the thought of Herbert Spencer, the rage for uniformity is the outcome of a nature which values equality much more than liberty.¹⁴³

Another misconception associated with the idea of democracy lies in the belief that the individual in the democratic state is completely merged or absorbed in the socializing process. While every democracy does propose to integrate the group and to develop homogeneity of ideals and sentiments concerning the essentials of group life, democracy does not propose to suppress individual differences or to develop a stereotyped individuality. The fate of democracy is linked up with the perfection and protection of personality. Hence, while it is the concern of democracy to increase cooperative group action, its aim is not mass action as such; it is even more important that in the transformation or re-making of the individual as he enters the group that he be in a measure disengaged from the mass. Democracy accordingly involves the realization of personality. In a real democracy, personality is a sacred thing, and the impulse to develop from within is everywhere fostered. From this point of view, it may be concluded that democracy is equality of opportunity for self-expression.¹⁴⁴ Hence it follows that self-direction is necessary in a democracy. The freedom that democracy guarantees can be preserved only through the exercise of self-restraint. Internal restraint rather than external coercion is relied upon.

The history of human liberty chronicles the struggle of the individual against the curb of group authority, and quite similarly,

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹⁴⁰Harris, George, *Inequality and Progress*, Boston, 1897, p. 49.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*

¹⁴²Partridge, G. E., *Genetic Philosophy of Education*, New York, 1912, p. 221.

¹⁴³Spencer, Herbert, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1897, II-3, p. 597.

¹⁴⁴Chapin, F. S., *Papers and Proceedings*, American Sociological Society, Vol. XIV., Chicago, 1919, p. 100.

the history of democracy records the long period which it is taking to substitute for irresponsible and autocratic domination the self-reliance and self-expression of the individual. When the individuals composing the group exercise their freedom with due regard for the rights of others, and when they cooperate effectively in the pursuit of group ends, social order exists, and democracy functions in a real and vital manner. Thus democracy may be represented to be a mode of life, primarily social and spiritual, and not merely a political formula. In other words, it is "a maximum of order with a minimum of coercion. It is self-restraint, high idealism, and kindly toleration. It is internal and spiritual, historical and actual. It is not merely external and social."¹⁴⁵

To sum up then, democracy is fundamentally a mode of life. It is an attitude and quality of the human spirit rather than a form of government; it aims at the common well-being, and it is a faith which holds that a common good will may control all society.¹⁴⁶ It depends not on regulations or controls imposed from above, but on ideals and motives that furnish an inner propulsion for progress.¹⁴⁷ Its intimate concern is the development of personality and character, and the protection of human rights, no less than the spread of confidence and trust among men; its persistent endeavor is to harmonize personal liberty with stability of government. It depends upon the social will that substitutes cooperation for competitive struggle; it requires devotion to the good of all as the supreme and dominating purpose of human life, and it recognizes always that the happiness, freedom, and well-being of a people come not from regulation, or by legislation, but from the hearts and minds of men.¹⁴⁸ It is best interpreted in terms of opportunity, fair play, equal rights and hatred of oppression.¹⁴⁹ It aspires finally to that stage of social progress which gives actual expression in daily life to the formula offered by Ross: "The maximizing of harmony and cooperation and the minimizing of hostility and conflict."¹⁵⁰ Ultimately then democracy involves the Christian concept of life: the brotherhood of man based on the Fatherhood of God.

Educational Demands of Democracy

From the preceding paragraphs it may be concluded that education for democracy directly involves the development of

¹⁴⁵Kerby, William J., *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, Chicago, 1918, p. 147.

¹⁴⁶Cope, Henry F., *Education for Democracy*, New York, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁴⁹O'Grady, John, *Address, Proceedings Americanization Conference*, Washington, 1919, p. 354.

¹⁵⁰Ross, E. A., *Papers and Proceedings*, American Sociological Society, Vol. XIV., Chicago, 1919, p. 183.

character and the realization of personality. Thus it becomes a problem at once moral and spiritual, educational and social.

While historically the church has been the principal agency in education for spiritual and social ends, the rise of sectarianism and consequently of secularism in modern times has made it imperative that the school assume a large share of the burden of training for moral and social living. While the churches of America have by no means abdicated their trust, statistics show that their collective appeal is surprisingly limited. Practically two-thirds of the American people are not affiliated with any denomination, and among large sections of our people religious faith is undoubtedly on the decline.

A serious task, then, is transferred to the school, and one indeed for which it is largely unprepared. Since the ultimate purpose of education is moral and the primary needs of democracy are moral and spiritual, democracy demands a moral product from its schools.¹⁵¹ The present deficiency of the American school lies in the fact that it has not succeeded in meeting the new demands that have been made upon it. If therefore it is to serve the interests of democracy, it becomes the supreme duty of the American school to emphasize the primacy of moral and spiritual values through the entire gamut of its organic teaching. The problem is not an easy one, but it is extremely important; and until the school can so readjust itself as to attack the problem effectively, its service to democracy must of necessity be meager.

According to Cope, education for democracy is "education for social life based on a concept of supreme values in personality, of society as existing for spiritual ends."¹⁵² The high product of democracy is the individual, and the primary task of the democratic school is to develop the individual and to aid and foster his spiritual and social self-realization.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations, it will be possible to formulate a group of principles that should guide the educational policies of a democratic society. They are as follows:

1. Education should be made universal. In a country wherein all share a voice in the shaping of public policies, an irreducible minimum of education should be made compulsory for all the nation's children. The welfare of democracy depends on the universal diffusion of knowledge among its members; without an educated electorate democratic institutions must inevitably fail.

2. Mere literacy is an insufficient guarantee of civic competence. Yet we commonly judge a nation's educational status by the standard of literacy. "Thus we naturally slip into the belief

¹⁵¹Cope, Henry F., *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 43.

that the power to read is a true measure of fitness, importing a much higher level of intelligence and knowledge than the illiterate possess."¹⁵³ Obviously, the extent to which elementary education equips one for citizenship in a democracy has been greatly overestimated.

Every effort, then, should be made to lift the level of social intelligence. Universal high school education is an ideal worth striving for. "If we recognize the responsibility of the schools for the development of intelligent members of a democratic society, the period of education will have to be extended until at least eighteen years of age."¹⁵⁴ Moreover, it should be the conscious aim of democracy to see that a fair degree of cultural education is given to all. While the school should encourage vocational efficiency that the nation may compete successfully in the markets of the world, premature vocationalism should be carefully avoided. Otherwise the tendency will be to sanction the social stratifications fostered by the Prussian school system. Again, to equip the individual for the proper enjoyment of the increased hours of leisure that are now beginning to prevail, the individual should be put into possession not merely of the rudiments of learning plus a trade knowledge, but also of the riches of his aesthetic and spiritual inheritance. In short, his training should give him an increased capacity to appreciate the higher things of life and to share the common heritage of joy and culture.

3. A democracy should see to it that a superior training is given its future leaders. Without sane leadership to enact laws and wisely administer public affairs, the reins of government fall into the hands of the demagogue or corrupt politician, and social progress is unthinkable. The fate of soviet Russia is a striking example of the demoralizing influence of government without leadership. Unless therefore the best minds of the nation are trained and selected for leadership, either anarchy, mob rule, or autocracy will surely prevail.

"A democracy, more than any other country, demands inequality in the education given to its members. Those who are especially gifted by nature must, for the public good, receive such a training as will fit for leadership, and this training is neither possible nor necessary for the rank and file of voters whose highest duty it is to second the efforts of the leaders whom they conscientiously select from the ranks of those who, by training and virtue, are available."¹⁵⁵ ?

¹⁵³Bryce, James, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 71.

¹⁵⁴Strayer and Engelhardt, *The Classroom Teacher*, New York, 1920, p. 12.

¹⁵⁵Shields, T. E., *Phil. of Ed.*, p. 262.

It is accordingly in keeping with the democratic spirit to see that poverty should not bar talent from the higher professions. A democracy interested in its own advancement can no more afford to waste its genius than to waste its material resources.¹⁵⁶ That proper leadership be chosen, the rank and file of voters should be impressed with the importance of their role as hirers of experts for the public service. Faith in leadership and support of worthy leaders are vital to progress in a democracy.

4. Education for democracy demands further that the social significance of education receive still wider recognition. The school should foster civic and social interests; the content of the curriculum should be so organized as to give due emphasis to social values; the various subjects taught should be related to the problems of social and community life. The concept of social responsibility as well as social rights should receive frequent consideration.

5. Education for democracy demands also that a democratic spirit pervade the school atmosphere. This involves the incorporation of democratic methods and procedures, and makes classroom work a distinctly co-operative enterprise. Training for democracy is inane when conducted under classroom experiences of autocracy. While authority has its legitimate place in the school, the feeling is widespread that in many schools its exercise has been excessive, and as a result frequently detrimental to the development of the child's initiative and self-reliance.

6. In education for democracy the type of education offered should be adapted to the nature and abilities of the individuals to be educated.¹⁵⁷ Since democracy is concerned with the individual, his capacity and needs must be kept constantly in mind. For a long period in our history, all of the pupils entering the high school were compelled to follow the traditional courses preparatory to college work. Of recent decades, however, differentiations in the curriculum have been arranged so that the student whose school career ceases with the high school receives not only a disciplinary or cultural training but in addition an amount of practical or vocational knowledge that will enable him to articulate successfully with the outside world upon leaving school.

The recognition of mental variations is also a duty of the democratic school. As current practice illustrates, the dullard, defective, and precocious are treated indifferently and con-

¹⁵⁶Smith, W. R., *Papers and Proceedings*, American Sociological Society, Vol. XIV, Chicago, 1919, p. 153.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 154.

tinue to be the victims of a fictitious "average" system of grading. Progressive educational theory, therefore, requires that individual differences be recognized and that the school adapt its teaching to meet the special needs of variant types.

7. Finally, since democracy is primarily an experiment in character,¹⁵⁸ and demands the development of moral and social beings, education for democracy must foster the development of desirable moral and social virtues. Chief among them are: faith in one's fellow man, respect for law and constituted authority, self-control and self-reliance, disciplined initiative, a sense of one's obligations as well as one's rights, an intolerance of abuses or oppression in social life, and finally a sense of solidarity; that is, a community spirit that expresses itself in devotion to the common good, in due regard for the rights of others, and in a readiness to co-operate toward the realization of the ends of group life. In proportion as the school succeeds in developing these traits in the youth of the nation, democracy will flourish and grow strong. As Bryce well observes, "Knowledge is one only among the things which go to the making of a good citizen. Public spirit and honesty are more needful."¹⁵⁹

Federal Control and Democracy

Education for democracy is the great task confronting the American school. Democracy, as we have seen, is in large measure an educational problem; the success of democratic institutions depends upon the propagation of a democratic faith through the school. Just as democracy must foster the school, the school must in turn foster democracy.

It is evident, however, that the school cannot be democratic unless its control is democratic. This leads to the crux of the present problem in education: Is federal control of education democratic? How far may we expect federal direction and stimulation of education to operate in the interests of democracy? The answer to these questions is of basic importance in arriving at a critical estimate of the present tide of federal legislation.

The federalization tendency is widespread. In the language of Professor Smith, "Today there is scarcely a phase of our business life where indirect governmental regulation or direct governmental control is not evident."¹⁶⁰ Our next step, he maintains, should be to centralize educational control in

¹⁵⁸Kerby, William J., *The Catholic World*, May, 1920.

¹⁵⁹Bryce, James, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 78.

¹⁶⁰Smith, W. R., *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, Boston, 1917, p. 162.

the federal government, "so that we can mobilize our educational forces and make an efficient education a universal democratic birthright."¹⁸¹

The assumption that underlies this contention is that educational progress in a democracy bears an intimate dependence upon federal control. In other words, the theory seems to be that social progress demands a maximum of control from above. Cubberley grants that the "new period of advance which we now seem to be entering bids fair to be very paternalistic, perhaps even socialistic in the matter of education. . . . Each year the child is coming to belong more and more to the State, and less and less to the parent."¹⁸²

It is undoubtedly true that there are conditions which warrant State or even federal intervention. Society functioning through its strongest mode must protect its individual members from abuses which militate against their natural rights and cannot be otherwise remedied. But while it may be admitted that the government in default of local action may step in to correct certain abuses that endanger either individual rights or the public welfare, it is intolerable that its intervention should exceed the minimum of necessary co-operation. What we need is less paternalism, not more of it.

Evidently every effort should be made to strengthen the States and local communities. Possibly some degree of federal aid will be required. Perhaps, as Professor Judd says, equalization of opportunity or equalization of teacher training will call for federal funds, but the American way of reaching this conclusion is by growing up to that policy.¹⁸³ It is fatal to democracy to resort to short-cut programs of reform; however, expedient and attractive they may at first appear, they tend ultimately to be subversive of the democratic ideals they were designed to foster. Coercive policies in social life should always be a last resort, and should prevail only in default of all other resources. In matters educational, this principle deserves especial emphasis. As Horace Mann rightly declared, "the education of the whole people, in a republican government, can never be attained without the consent of the whole people. Compulsion, even though it were a desirable, is not an available instrument. Enlightenment, not coercion, is our resource. The nature of education must be explained. The whole mass of mind must be instructed in regard to its comprehensive and enduring interests. We cannot drive our people up a dark avenue, even though it be the

¹⁸¹Smith, W. R., *Papers and Proceedings*, American Sociological Society, Vol. XIV, Chicago, 1919, p. 151.

¹⁸²Cubberley, E. P., *Changing Conceptions of Education*, Boston, pp. 62-63.

¹⁸³*The Educational Record*, Vol. I, No. 3.

right one; but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course to the goal of prosperity and honor, but the beauty of the way that leads to it."¹⁶⁴

In American life today, legislation has become almost a passion. The feeling exists that Congress can cure any and all ills by legislative fiat. Herein lies a serious danger to democracy. If we are to avoid paternalism and bureaucracy, our appeal must be to voluntary co-operation and local initiative rather than to excessive legislation.

The example of the school system of France and Prussia should confirm our faith in democratic procedures. To remedy an evil in either of those countries, "the minister of education would consult his official advisers, and call the leading experts to his council; in a few weeks an order would issue prescribing for the schools a new and reformed procedure. In this way *Lehrpläne* and *Lehraufgaber* for the higher schools of Prussia were issued in 1882, and again in 1892. Similarly in 1890 the existing *Plan d'Etudes et Programmes* of the secondary schools were promulgated. In this country, however, where no central educational administration exists, and where bureaucracy is not popular, educational reforms can be brought about only by persuasion and co-operation, for no official and no institution is empowered to dictate to us. The press, the platform, the teachers' meeting must be availed of to put forward new ideas; and men and women in large numbers must be reasoned with and convinced in order to secure their acceptance."¹⁶⁵

The superiority of the American policy was well attested to some years ago by an eminent German schoolmaster. Contrasting the German schools with the American, he said: "We have no bad schools because all our schools are controlled from above. You in America have all kinds from the very worst to the very best. You have the advantage over us, on the whole, because some day you will be led by the examples of your excellent schools to a general improvement."¹⁶⁶ As Professor Judd well remarks, this is the view of an observer of democracy who is not deceived by the apparent excellences of an artificial system."¹⁶⁷

In the long run, very little can be said in defense of centralized control. It may, to be sure, help to apply the collective wisdom of the larger administrative area to the local area;

¹⁶⁴Mann, Horace, *Lectures on Education*, Boston, 1855, p. 259.

¹⁶⁵Butler, N. M., *The Meaning of Education*, New York, 1898, pp. 188-189.

¹⁶⁶Quoted by Judd, C. H., *The Evolution of a Democratic School System*, Boston, 1918, pp. 31-32.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

and it may insure at least a minimum level of cultural uniformity. In addition, it may lead to the introduction of the educational expert, and make possible the substitution of carefully planned and co-ordinated policies for the vagaries of local administration.¹⁶⁸

The advantages of centralized control, however, are decidedly outweighed by its disadvantages. In the first place centralized control curbs local initiative, and wherever it prevails, education tends to ossify. It is a direct attack upon the principle of home rule and involves consequent diminution of popular interest in education. Secondly, it is not responsive to local sentiment. It is remote from the people affected, and its operation tends to become paternalistic and bureaucratic. Thirdly, it lacks flexibility and adaptability. Its application soon becomes mechanical and routinelike. Fourthly, it loses sight of the supreme values of individuality. As Ross says, "its semi-military organization of little children, its overriding of individual bent and preference, its appeal to head instead of heart, its rational morality, its colorless and jejune text-books, its official cult of ethical and civic principles, its cold-blooded fostering of patriotism, is far from attractive."¹⁶⁹

The wisdom of avoiding undue centralization has been ably pointed out by Bryce: "Democracy needs local self-government as its foundation. That is the school in which the citizen acquires the habit of independent action, learns what is his duty to the State, and learns also how to discharge it. The control of local affairs by the Central Government has in France lessened the citizen's sense of responsibility. It has multiplied the posts of which the executive can dispose, and thereby enlarged the field in which political patronage can run riot. Patronage may no doubt be employed and abused by local authorities also, and is so employed in America and elsewhere for personal or party ends. But this does less harm to the higher interests of the State, for the field of action is narrower, and the malady may be only sporadic, curable by the action of local citizens themselves when they have been roused to a sense of its evils, as it is being cured today in the United States."¹⁷⁰

Referring to the experience of modern democracies in controlling education, Bryce continues: "Elementary education is a branch of administration assigned in some countries to a central, in others to a local authority. The argument for giving it to the latter is strong because the interest of parents in

¹⁶⁸Sneddon, David, *Problems of Educational Readjustment*, Boston, 1913, pp. 236-237.

¹⁶⁹Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, New York, 1901, p. 178.

¹⁷⁰Bryce, James, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, pp. 320-321.

the instruction of their children ought to be stimulated by the function of choosing the local school authority as well as by the right of representing to it any local need or grievance. This function they have enjoyed in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand, as well as in Switzerland and Great Britain, but to a much smaller extent in France, Australia, and Ireland. Reformers, impatient with the slackness and parsimony common among local authorities, have, however, been everywhere advocating State intervention, insisting that the reluctance of the local citizen to spend freely makes it necessary to invoke the central government, both to supervise schools and to grant the money from the national treasury for the salaries of teachers and the various educational appliances. Here, as is often the case, the choice is between more rapid progress on the one hand and the greater solidity and hold upon the average citizen's mind which institutions draw from being entrusted to popular management."¹⁷¹

Accompanying the demand for centralized control is the demand for the exclusive State school. Professor Sharp insists that we must have a common school for all the people, and that all must attend a common school; the private school in a democratic system is "un-American and anti-American and no substitute at all for the common public school. All true forces of democracy are centripetal, getting together forces."¹⁷²

That this demand consists of more than mere words was well borne out in the Michigan election of November, 1920, when there was submitted to the electorate a proposed amendment to the State Constitution requiring that all residents of the State of Michigan between the ages of five and sixteen years attend the public school in their respective districts until they have graduated from the eighth grade. While the amendment was lost, it nevertheless goes to serve as a striking example of the present trend of educational legislation.

Neither the State nor the Federal Government has any right to a monopoly of education or to empire over the minds of men. To quote John Stuart Mill: "One thing must be strenuously insisted on; that the government must claim no monopoly for its education, either in the lower or in the higher branches; must exert neither authority nor influence to induce the people to resort to its teachers in preference to others. . . . it is not endurable that a government should either *de jure* or *de facto*, have a complete control over the education of the people. To possess such a control, and ac-

¹⁷¹Bryce, James, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 436-7.

¹⁷²Sharp, Dallas Lore, *Patrons of Democracy*, Boston, 1919, pp. 8 and 26.

tually exert it, is to be despotic. A government which can mould the opinions and sentiments of the people from their youth upwards, can do with them whatever it pleases. It would be justified in requiring from all the people that they possess instruction in certain things, but not in prescribing to them how or from whom they shall obtain it."¹⁷³

The State or nation therefore should not ordain that its schools be exclusive. According to U. S. Commissioner Claxton, perfect freedom in the establishment and maintenance of schools and in sending children to other than public schools is in thorough accord with the principles of American democracy, and should be maintained.¹⁷⁴ Hanus likewise holds that the provisions of private enterprise or private generosity for education are to be regarded with favor by a democratic society.¹⁷⁵

Neither centralization nor governmental monopoly of schools is essential to social solidarity. The forces that make for a healthy social organism are internal and spiritual rather than external and legislative. Coercion may prove effective, but it is not the instrument of a free people. As Kerschensteiner well says, "if the feeling of nationality is alive among a people, unifying forces appear of themselves, without compulsion from any central authority, even in decentralized governmental functions."¹⁷⁶ Accordingly, he adds, the States are to be praised for their jealous insistence upon their sovereignty in education; "nothing is more dangerous for the schools than an all-inclusive system that reaches out over broad domains, having no regard for territorial interests, much less for purely local demands."¹⁷⁷

While conspicuous differences exist among the various State systems, it is not a phenomenon to be entirely deplored. In the first place, the desirability of uniformity among the States is indeed questionable. In the words of Senator King, uniformity does not necessarily mean advancement; the law of progress is correlated with the law of variation.¹⁷⁸ The same theme is stressed by John Dewey in the volume, "Democracy and Education," in which he declares that "a progressive society counts individual variations as precious since it finds in them the means of its own growth. Hence a democratic society must in consistency with its ideal, allow for

¹⁷³Mill, John Stuart, *Principles of Political Economy*, New York, 1889, Vol. II, pp. 576-577.

¹⁷⁴*School Life*, Vol. V, No. 9, Nov. 1, 1920.

¹⁷⁵Hanus, Paul H., *School Administration and School Reports*, Boston, 1920, p. 155.

¹⁷⁶U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1913, No. 24, p. 5.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸*The Congressional Record*, May 22, 1920.

intellectual freedom and the play of diverse gifts and interests in its educational measures."¹⁷⁹

The presumption, therefore, in a healthy democracy is always against the intervention of the government. While society through the government has the right to maintain itself and take such steps as are essential to its perpetuity, its right is a restricted one, and is limited to the minimum of necessary co-operation. Aware of the bitter historic struggle between the freedom of the individual and the supremacy of the State, and keenly conscious of the tendency of government to encroach upon the individual, modern democracy is fearful and distrustful of authority. From this point of view democracy is not merely an aspiration, but it is a stirring protest against the curb of autocratic or bureaucratic aggression.

To offset the possible excess of governmental control and dominion, the other social agencies must act as a balance. In this way the home, the church, the school, the press, and the various civic and cultural groups may perform an important function, namely, that of preserving the social equilibrium. If they prove vigilant and active, the fate of our free institutions will not depend upon the inclination of State or government. Thus, diffusion of control becomes the chief security against its excess.¹⁸⁰

At this point it should be insisted that of all institutions the home especially should be faithful to its sacred duty. The family, says Cope, is the first and most effective school of democracy.¹⁸¹ It is, moreover, the chief agency in the education of the young and as such it ought never to be superseded.¹⁸² Unfortunately, however, it is frequently neglectful of its trust, with the inevitable consequence that in justice to the children, the State or Federal Government is obliged to step in and fulfill the duties in the performance of which the home has been derelict.

The strengthening of the home is one of the greatest social problems of the present. Its deficiencies have necessitated the government to go far in the direction of paternalism. To restore the balance presents a task that is well-nigh heroic. One thing, however, should be remembered: Whenever the State or Federal Government concerns itself with the indi-

¹⁷⁹Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, New York, 1916, p. 357.

¹⁸⁰Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, New York, 1901, p. 431.

¹⁸¹Cope, H. F., *Education for Democracy*, New York, 1920, p. 108.

¹⁸²Shields, T. E., *Philosophy of Education*, Washington, 1917, p. 281.

vidual child, it should deal with him as a member of the family and through the family; whenever this principle is ignored, the natural result is the weakening and disintegration of the family, which in turn works serious injury to the individual and to society.¹⁸³

Conclusion

The following conclusions may be drawn from this dissertation:

1. While national interest in education is not without a long evolution, the nation is at present assuming an increasingly important role in relation to education. The truth of this is evident upon an examination of the large number of education bills now pending in Congress.

II. The bills pending in Congress during the 66th and 67th Congresses have been designed to serve a wide variety of purposes; bills have been introduced for such diverse objects as the following: Americanization, physical education, vocational education and rehabilitation of ex-soldiers; rural and mountain schools; civic, social, and health extension education; a national school of correspondence; instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy;¹⁸⁴ also bills to create a Department of Education, to establish a National University, a National Conservatory of Music, a station for the investigation of mentally handicapped children; likewise bills to set up a commission to investigate public education in the United States and to make recommendations for its improvement, and finally, a large number of measures affecting the scope and status of the work carried on by the United States Bureau of Education.

III. Many of these measures, if enacted, would exercise a far-reaching influence on the schools of the nation. Taken altogether, they clearly reveal the tendency to transfer the educational burdens of the States to the nation. If American education is to remain true to its democratic traditions, educational control will be kept as far as practicable in the hands of the people. As already pointed out, the experience of France under centralized control gives ample evidence of the waning of local interest in education when control passes from the local communities to the nation. In a democracy, a super-

¹⁸³*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴This (Sheppard-Towner) bill was passed in the course of the 67th Congress, 1st Session.

imposed system should be avoided. There are no reasons which justify the extension of federal control of education in the United States.

IV. Several important bills now pending embody the so-called fifty-fifty principle of federal subsidy. While this principle is not to be absolutely discountenanced, experience does not justify its rapid extension along educational lines. It is still on trial, and unless it is followed up by a program of rigid supervision, it may give rise to serious abuses. In some countries it has been employed for political ends by the dominant party.

V. The Sterling-Towner Bill is the most important of the educational measures now pending in Congress. While it represents a sincere effort to remedy a number of educational deficiencies that are clearly obvious and deserve correction, its *modus operandi* is open to challenge. A genuine difficulty lies in the danger that the appropriation feature of the bill will ultimately bring about a policy of federal control of education. The policy of the Federal Government under present legislation lends substance to this contention. In addition, the bill reveals many of the shortcomings of a compromise measure; in some respects it is neither well studied nor consistent. Conceivably the bill might afford temporary relief in some quarters; in the long run, however, its operation would prove harmful and it would commit the country to an educational policy that would defeat rather than promote the best interests of the nation. The experience of foreign governments with nationally controlled and subsidized education does not argue favorably for the adoption of such a plan in America.

VI. Among a democratic people, leadership rather than law should be the chief inspiration of educational reform. Federal control is advisable only under the condition of absolute necessity and as a result of a thorough investigation of the evils to be remedied. Since the end of the war, the States have been taking the initiative for educational progress. This tendency on the part of the States is so general in extent, and so salutary in principle, that it should give pause to any precipitant legislation by the National Congress. At all events, the Federal Government should avoid overlapping the activities of the States.

As a result of the general election in November, 1920, important constitutional amendments in the interest of education were adopted in many States. California, Georgia, Texas, Utah and Virginia were vitally affected.¹⁸⁵ In the

¹⁸⁵*School Life*, Vol. V, No. 10.

course of an intensive school campaign in Texas, public opinion was educated concerning the educational needs of the State, with the result that favorable legislation comprising fifteen progressive features was enacted.¹⁸⁶ Alabama likewise reports progressive action,¹⁸⁷ and twenty-two other States contemplate educational programs at the approaching sessions of their respective legislatures.¹⁸⁸

This activity is a direct answer to the challenge that the States are incapable of meeting their educational responsibilities, and that their educational sovereignty should be transferred in whole or part to the Federal Government. Moreover, it lends corroboration to the testimony of Ayres that "the educational effort of a State is dependent on its aspirations and ideals rather than on its financial resources. The handicap of limited resources is relative rather than absolute."¹⁸⁹ Therefore, on the basis of data at present available, the utter incapacity of the States to meet the emergency in education has not been demonstrated.

In general, considerable progress is being made throughout the Union. A healthy sign is found in the advance returns of the decennial census for 1920, which show that despite the large immigration of illiterates during the preceding decade, the percentage of national illiteracy is steadily decreasing.

VII. In many quarters the belief is growing that the continuance of the present centripetal drift in educational control may be rightly construed as a decline of American faith in liberty. According to President Butler, there has been over-organization in education for a long time past. "Too many persons are engaged in supervising, in inspecting and in recording the work of other persons. There is too much machinery, and in consequence a steady temptation to lay more stress upon the form of education than upon its content. Statistics displace scholarship. There are, in addition, too many laws and too precise laws, and not enough opportunity for those mistakes and failures, due to individual initiative and experiment, which are the foundation for great and lasting success."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 9, and No. 12.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 2.

¹⁸⁹Ayres, Leonard P., *An Index Number for State School Systems*, New York, 1920, p. 40.

Note: Commenting on educational progress in Mississippi, H. M. Ivy, State Supervisor of Secondary Schools, writes as follows in the *Journal of the N. E. A.*, May, 1922: "The sentiment of the people of Mississippi toward education is far more favorable than ever before. We believe that we are justified in the statement that our educational efficiency has improved not less than twenty per cent during the past three years."

¹⁹⁰Butler, N. M., *Annual Report of the President*, 1921, Columbia University, Bulletin of Information, Jan. 1922.

VIII. The creation of a Federal Department of Education is gaining support throughout the country. Realizing the baneful influence of politics on education, many prefer a Federal Council or Commission on Education to a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

Education undoubtedly merits a higher status in the government. Under existing statutes, the Bureau of Education is unable to cope with the important educational problems which properly belong to it. At all events, education should not be submerged in the proposed Department of Public Welfare, as provided in the Kenyon Bill, S. 1607.

IX. In the interest of constructive reform the following suggestions are submitted:

1. The Federal Government should take steps to co-ordinate its existing educational activities. In the interest of economy and efficiency, the thirty or forty educational offices now being administered by the United States, should, as far as possible be brought into organic relationship and articulation with one another.

2. A National Council or Commission on Education should be created by the Federal Government. This commission should be representative in character, and composed of men well qualified educationally regardless of political affiliation. Geographical considerations should bear considerable weight in the making of appointments. In order to give continuity to the commission the term of office of a member should be not less than seven years, and appointments should be so regulated as to provide at least one appointment and retirement annually. In this way, constant newness as well as continuity would be assured.

Its duty might well include the following functions: (a) to investigate educational problems of national significance; (b) to authorize studies and surveys of schools and school systems in various parts of the country, to discover defects and afford information toward their improvement; (c) to promote the standards of research under government auspices; (d) to devise objective standards of educational efficiency; (e) to furnish leadership and inspiration for the educational thought of the country; and (f) to report annually to Congress on the state of education throughout the nation.

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The writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge his deep debt of gratitude to the late Reverend Doctor Thomas Edward Shields, under whose scholarly guidance his graduate work was carried on until the Doctor's death in 1921; to the Reverend Dr. Patrick J. McCormick for frequent counsel and direction as teacher for two years, and as Major Professor during the concluding period of the writer's university work; also to the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Pace, Rev. Dr. Kerby, Rev. Father McVay, Dr. McCarthy, and Dr. Parker, whose classes it was his privilege to attend. He wishes finally to express his sincere thanks to the Knights of Columbus for the exceptional advantages enjoyed for three years as a graduate student at the Catholic University.

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